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SOCIAL LIFE IN SCOTLAND.

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SOCIAL LIFE

IN

SCOTLAND

FROM EARLY TO RECENT TIMES

BY THE

REV. CHARLES ROGERS, D.D., LL.D., F.S.A. SCOT.

ETC., ETC., ETC.

VOLUME THIRD.

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POSTSCRIPT TO PREFACE.

In issuing my third and concluding volume, I feel as if parting with an old and cherished friend, with whom I have long enjoyed familiar converse. I have talked about Scotland in its social aspects, and in respect of the usages, manners, and practices of its inhabitants. And in discoursing of these, I have avoided rash and curious speculation. By the aid of an index, in which are included subjects as well as proper names, the reader, it is hoped, will find that topics have been included, in which he is personally interested, and that in a condensed form, facts and particulars are presented not readily to be gleaned elsewhere. Yet I may indulge in no self-gratulation, for I am more than conscious of my abundant shortcomings. Nor will failure cause me any absolute distress, since the undertaking on which I have ventured embraces a field so wide that none have heretofore sought its cultivation.

In the present volume is contained a Supplement, applicable chiefly to the two preceding volumes.

In this errors, have been corrected, omissions supplied, and new illustrations gathered in.

In conclusion, let me emphatically say that, in writing about a country very dear to me, I have used every effort, so that its social development might be rightly apprehended alike by strangers and by its sons. Wherein I have fallen short, let the error be ascribed, not to any lack of industry, but to imperfect skill or defective judgment. To all who have supplied me with information, or rendered other assistance, I beg to return my sincere and grateful acknowledgments.

CHARLES ROGERS.

6 Barnton Terrace,
Edinburgh, *October* 1886.

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SOCIAL LIFE IN SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER XVI.

LITERARY AND SCHOLASTIC.

When in the eightieth year of the Christian era the Romans penetrated into that part of the island now called Scotland, they found the natives not unacquainted with letters and the arts of life. And it is considerably uncertain whether the Roman occupation, which continued 350 years, tended to promote popular culture, or to advance among the natives the course of civilisation. As the imperialists desired the suppression of those warlike tribes who offered them resistance, it is probable that any real culture which accrued to the inhabitants while they occupied the country, was chiefly due to the passionate earnestness of the native bards.

Not many years after the Romans had withdrawn, other races effected settlements on the northern, eastern, and western shores. These settlers were members of that great northern people who from

the Danube and the Euxine had migrated to the shores of the Baltic. In their train followed the Dalriad Scots, who first landing on the Irish coast of Antrim, next rested at Kintyre. Attracting the Celtic inhabitants by their woollen garments, they were by them styled *Sgeadaich* or Scots, an appellative which after the lapse of centuries came to designate the general population. Not unfamiliar with Christian doctrine, the *Sgeadaich* gave a welcome to St Columba, assigning him, in 563, a congenial home in the island of Iona. By St Columba were reduced into a system the fragments of knowledge associated with Pagan worship. The earlier Christian scholars were ministers of religion.

In cultivating secular learning, Christian teachers ignored the aesthetic,—for fiction had engendered superstition, and fancy had created the gods. Eschewing the imaginary, they allowed history, defaced by legend, to perish with it; that portion only being retained which invigorated the energies and stimulated prowess. And hence survived the snatches of Fingalian verse. The poems and hymns ascribed to St Columba evince no inconsiderable vivacity, but are strictly of a devotional character, with a special reference to his personal surroundings. Literary activity awakened in the sixth century, was in the seventh advanced by Adamnan in his life of the western apostle. Then and subsequently missionaries from

Iona proceeded everywhere, to ultimately settle in retreats associated with the elder superstition, and where with Christian sentiment and the love of learning, they imbued undisciplined and warlike chiefs.

From Iona moved into Northumberland the venerable Aidan, who, fixing his seat in the Isle of Lindisfarne, there in the princely Oswald secured an intelligent interpreter. Constructing a monastery at Melrose, Aidan therefrom, in 651, sent forth St Cuthbert, through whose ardour and eloquence Lothian peasants acquired a moderate culture and learned to pray. The clerical element continued to obtain influence and force. Bede, who died in the year 735, relates that in the island the gospel was preached in the languages of the Angles, Britons, Scots, Picts, and Latins. Of these languages Latin was common to all lettered Churchmen. By the Angles was used a kind of Low German, which resembled the Frisian, and by the Britons the language now spoken in Wales, while the Scots and Picts spoke dialects of the Irish, which, like the British, was cognate to the same Celtic original.[1] When under Kenneth MacAlpin, in 844, the Scots and Picts amalgamated in a new nationality, Saxon was slowly introduced. In Saxonia proper, or Lothian, next in

[1] "Celtic Scotland," by W. F. Skene, Edinburgh, 1876, vol. i. 194.

Galloway, and latterly in the territory to the north of the Forth and Clyde, the Anglo-Saxon language took root, spread, and latterly made rapid progress.

Early in the eleventh century, under the beneficent sway of Macbeth, letters were, in the religious houses, diligently cultivated. In the reign of Malcolm Canmore, the Scottish clergy understood only the Gaelic or Celtic tongue. This we learn from the incident that when they were addressed in Saxon by Queen Margaret, Malcolm was required as an interpreter. As Saxon was now the language of the Court, its propagation obtained a new impulse. But Gaelic or Celtic maintained a tenacious hold in the outlying districts, making a final retreat to the uplands only in the thirteenth century. At the coronation of Alexander III., in 1249, when a Highland sennachy described in Gaelic the dignity of the royal descent, was used at Court for the last time the language of the Picts.

Of the national annals which Culdee scribes prepared in the monasteries, none earlier than the tenth century survive. The "Pictish Chronicle," which closes with a history of Kenneth III., who died in 994, was compiled in his reign, while to the eleventh century belong the "Duan Albanach," a series of rude chronicles, both of the Scots and Picts, together with some lives of the saints.

What degree of social refinement was superinduced

by the Norman settlements which took place in Scotland during the reign of David I. may not be adequately determined; it was certainly not impressed upon the contemporary literature. From the reign of Malcolm Canmore till that of Alexander III. the literary field is nearly sterile. Reaction came with Thomas Learmont, or the Rhymer, otherwise styled of Ercildoune—from lands on the Leader in the county of Berwick, of which he was the owner. Whether Learmont composed that version of the romance of "Sir Tristrem," attributed to him by Sir Walter Scott, may not absolutely be determined. The MS. from which it is printed is of the middle of the fourteenth century, and the complicated rhymes presented in the poem would indicate a North of England, rather than a Scottish origin. And while Robert of Brunne, who flourished about 1303, describes the Rhymer as author of a romance of the story of Sir Tristrem, we find in the opening stanza that Thomas of Ercildoune is named in the third person—

> "I was at Erceldoune
> With Tomas spak Y thare;
> Ther herd Y rede in roune,
> Who Tristrem gat and bare."

Surely this is the language of another poet, who may to the sage of Ercildoune have been indebted for his materials! In the character of a prophet the

Rhymer has survived his verses. He is alleged to have foretold the calamitous death of Alexander III., also the future union of the crowns. Mentioned by Barbour, Learmont is celebrated by Wyntoun and Henry, and as a seer is generally commemorated by the historians. Through his learning he had attracted the common people, who, startled by his knowledge, came to ascribe to him the power of divination, a belief which among the unlearned the progress of time served materially to intensify.

With the national energy evoked in the struggle for liberty, following the aggressions of the first Edward, was re-awakened that popular minstrelsy which, apart from the muse of St Columba, or of his period, had slumbered from the Fingalian age. Already have been quoted the lines preserved by Wyntoun, in which the Scottish peasantry deplored the premature death of Alexander III.[1] Next, at the siege of Berwick, in 1296, do we find the gallant defenders deriding King Edward in the following stanza:—

> "Wend Kyng Edewarde, with his lange shankes,
> To have gete Berwyke, al our unthankes?
> Gas pikes hym,
> And after gas dikes hym."

According to Fabyan, the English chronicler, Scottish

[1] See vol. i. pp. 400-1.

minstrels celebrated the victory of Bannockburn in these lines :—

"Maydens of Englande, sore may ye morne,
For your lemmans ye have lost at Bannockysborne,
With heue a lowe.
What ! weneth the King of Englande
So soone to have wonne Scotlande ?
With rumbylow."

Among the peasantry minstrelsy became common ; it was useless, writes Barbour, to make record of Border exploits, since these were "ilka day at play sung by the maidens."

During the reign of King Robert the Bruce, a minstrel was retained at Court, and Robert II. granted to his minstrel, Thomas Acarsone, a yearly pension of ten pounds.[1]

To the commencement of the fourteenth century belong the "Taill of Rauf Coilzear," and the "Pystyl of Swete Susane ;" also the poetical romances of "Gawen and Gologras," and "Galoran of Galloway." These compositions, evincing a vigorous poetical conception, though defaced by intricate rhymes and tedious alliteration, are from the pen of Sir Hew of Eglintoun, the "Huchowne" of Wyntoun, and who is also celebrated by Dunbar. Belonging to the Courts of David II. and Robert II., Sir Hew espoused the half-sister of the latter, and in 1361 held office as justiciary of Lothian. Dying soon after 1376, his

[1] Chamberlain Rolls, ii. 586, 605 ; iii. 32.

daughter Elizabeth married John Montgomery of Eglisham, carrying his estates into a family which, by the title of Eglinton, was afterwards ennobled. To the same age belong the alliterative verses which form the anonymous compositions of "Morte Arthur" and "Syr Gawain and the Green Knight."

Next appears John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen, whose career, extending from 1316 to 1395, inaugurated a new era in vernacular poetry. An ardent student, he at a mature age proceeded to Oxford, there to familiarise himself with learning, also with the best models of English poetry. The whole of Barbour's writings have not been preserved, but his poem of "The Brus" is at once a monument of his literary taste and poetical culture.

Lacking the graces of modern verse, Barbour's style is nevertheless terse, brief, and pointed, and is pervaded throughout by a directness of aim and a dignified simplicity. While his encomium on freedom is unsurpassed, he celebrates the triumphs of chivalry alike in the national cause and when attained by a gallant enemy. Through Sir Allan Cathcart and others, who took part in the struggle at Bannockburn, he became familiar with the circumstances of the battle, and these he has depicted with the animation of an eye-witness. Few poets more graphically describe the clashing of swords and the crash of lances, or so vividly depict the soil stained

with blood and strewn with the mangled bodies of the slain. Barbour attains his utmost force as he delineates the personal character of his hero, celebrating his patience under trial, his hopefulness under reverses, and his qualities of generosity and self-denial which, endearing him to his followers, commanded at length the admiration of his foes. Yet his fairness as a historian is blemished by his ignoring the exploits of Wallace, and, with unpardonable negligence, confounding that Robert Bruce who with Baliol competed for the crown, with his grandson the hero of Bannockburn.

To the history of a single reign by the Archdeacon of Aberdeen followed the chronicles of the kingdom, composed in Latin by John of Fordun. In the cathedral of Aberdeen, of which he was a chantry priest, Fordun prepared his work, between the years 1384 and 1387, his earlier narrative being founded on monastic fables, his latter on materials supplied by English annalists, together with some authentic details found in the religious houses. Fordun's labours were supplemented by Walter Bower, who, in 1449, died Abbot of Inchcolm. Besides largely interpolating Fordun's narrative, Bower extended it from the twenty-third chapter of the sixth book, continuing the chronicle down to the death of James I., and thereby adding sixteen books. Though Fordun and Bower use no classic

diction, their work, which is known as the "Scoti-chronicon," is not unworthy of its age.

In imitation of Barbour, Andrew of Wyntoun, prior of St Serf's Inch in Lochleven, and a canon regular of St Andrews, composed about the years 1420-4 his metrical history. To this he gave the name of "The Orygynal Cronykil," since he starts with the creation of angels, and includes the early history of the world. In preparing his work he was partly indebted to certain MSS. preserved at St Andrews, and it is to be remarked that, like Barbour and Fordun, he evinces no animosity against the English. Adopting Barbour's mode of versification, a measure of eight syllables with occasional variations, he writes with fluency, and with singular effect contrives to vary his rhymes through a formidable chronology. Without any claim to genius, he is stirring and vivacious.

The royal author of "The Kingis Quair" in the fifteenth century is the next prominent figure. Nineteen years a captive in England, James I. relieved the irksomeness of involuntary exile by sedulously cherishing the muse. Studying Chaucer, he became himself a poet, and when smitten by the charms of Joanna Beaufort, who became his queen, he composed in her honour his "quair" or book. Commenced in 1423, his poem was not completed till after his marriage, and his return to Scotland in the following year. Framed in the fantastic allegory of the middle

ages, it exhibits a vigorous fancy, and abounds in elegant diction. Lately edited by Professor Skeat from a MS. in the Bodleian Library, there has at length been secured a text of unexceptionable accuracy. To James have been assigned the ballads of "Christis Kirk on the Green" and "Peblis to the Play," compositions descriptive of rustic merriment, and abounding in exquisite humour.

Early in the fifteenth century appeared anonymously "The Battle of Harlaw," a poem descriptive of an event which occurred in the year 1411, when Donald of the Isles, with an army of ten thousand men, marched towards Aberdeen in order to plunder the city, but was intercepted at Harlaw in Mar by the Earl of Mar, when a battle was fought, attended on both sides with extraordinary slaughter. To the same period belongs "Cockelbie's Sow," a performance of singular humour, and not without a special value in preserving the names of songs, tunes, and dances contemporaneously popular. To the middle of the century has been assigned Holland's "Buke of the Howlat," an elaborate and dreary allegory of alliterative verse.

A poet of the early reign of James III., Robert Henryson, after studying on the continent, also at the newly-founded University of Glasgow, became publicnotary at Dunfermline and schoolmaster of that burgh. Cherishing the national muse, he relieved her from

the trammels of medieval allegory by adopting in her service a chaste imagery and elegant diction. In his "Abbay Walk," "The Prais of Aige," and "The Ressoning betwixt Deth and Man," he has in simple strains embodied the principles of an earnest faith. Social manners are depicted in his rendering of Æsop's Fables; notably in his "Taill of the Uplandis Mous and the Burges Mous;" while in his "Robene and Makyne," he has presented a pastoral, which, the earliest in our literature, has in marvellous terseness and skilful arrangement not been exceeded or even approached.

Contemporary with Henryson flourished Henry the Minstrel, a blind bard, yet whose various delineations would induce the belief that Mair is not quite accurate when he describes him as blind from his birth. Representing himself as "a bural man," that is, one of the uneducated, he has been poetically styled "the oracle of the unlettered crowd." Whatever his attainments were, he has effectively embodied in stirring verse the traditions of his hero, which were gleaned in his wanderings, while his descriptions abound in poetical vivacity. In comparison with Barbour's "Brus" his poem is lacking in dignity; but he excels the archdeacon in perspicuity, also in the quality of his verse. Prone to alliteration, he is the earliest Scottish poet who extensively uses the heroic couplet. The patriot's love for Marion Bradfute is

described with idyllic grace; but in his description of battles he is defective, since his champions excel more by native strength than through any precise military skill. And he is regardless of historical accuracy, since he magnifies his hero by ascribing to him achievements which he could not have possibly performed. A pensioner on the bounty of James IV., Henry also profited by the beneficence of the clergy and barons. His poem, which has been assigned to the year 1460, has frequently been printed, but it is chiefly known through the version which, in 1722, was issued by William Hamilton of Gilbertfield.

To the same age belong "the makaris," whom the poet Dunbar has celebrated in his "Lament," Sir Mungo Lockhart of Lee, Sir John Ross, John Clerk, James Affleck, and Alexander Trail; also the minstrels Ettrick, Heriot, Brown, and Stobo. Of these the names only survive. Quintin Shaw, in his six stanzas of "Advice to a Courtier," also Patrick Johnston, in "The Three Deid Powis," or Death-heads, severally evince poetical energy. Less striking is "The Ryng of the Roy Robert," in which David Stiele celebrates the patriotism of Robert III. in upholding against Henry IV. the independence of his crown. Sir John Rowll, a priest, in his "Rowlis Cursing," a poem of 262 verses, might, in an age more prolific in verse-making, have been wholly forgotten. In the "Thrie Tailes of the Thrie Priests of Peblis," an unknown

author claims approval in the correctness of his morals. Of a much higher order is "The Freris of Berwicke," a comic tale, erroneously ascribed to Dunbar, and in which, with an exquisite humour, monkish profligacy is effectively satirized.

The next prominent figure is William Dunbar. Remotely related to the noble family of the Earls of March, he was born about the year 1460, and with a view to the Church, was educated at St Salvator's College. As a member of the Franciscan order, he travelled in England and in Picardy; but by his poetical genius attracting the notice of James IV., he renounced his habit and joined the Court. In a secret mission on the King's behalf he visited France, Germany, Italy, and Spain. From the royal privy purse he, in August of the year 1500, received a pension of £10, and which was increased from time to time till, in 1510, it was raised to £80, and so to continue till he should be promoted to a benefice not under the value of one hundred pounds. But ecclesiastical preferment, though often sought for, never came, and the poet, about the age of sixty, died unbeneficed.

As a poet Dunbar has been compared with Chaucer, and he may also be classed with Burns. Not essentially lyrical, nor with a voice attuned to the highest melody, he handles every theme with passionate force, and in every form of metre is thoroughly a

master. In allegory and in narrative, in burlesque and in satire, in panegyric and in invective, he is at home. As a courtier, playful and hilarious, he is on serious themes singularly in earnest. Jocund in humour, he excels in pathos. His satire is crushing when his theme is sacerdotal arrogance, or religious pretension. Yet he is not faultless, inasmuch that his compositions intended for the Court evince an unjustifiable licence. And though the corrupt manners of his age might afford some excuse for the unseemliness of his words, these cannot justify his compromising his priestly character, or prostituting a genius wherewith he might have taught purity and inculcated moderation.

In the allegorical strain Dunbar's best poem is "The Thrissel and the Rose," an epithalamium on the marriage of James IV. with the Princess Margaret of England. His poetical tournament with his friend and contemporary, commemorated in "The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy," derives a chief merit in an unrefined wit and a humour based upon scurrility. Dunbar is, in the year 1530, celebrated by Sir David Lindsay, but from that period till Allan Ramsay, in 1724, discovered his poems, and printed them in his "Evergreen," his name was all but forgotten.

In the wake of Dunbar followed Gavin Douglas, a poet whose genius was not obscured by his political

errors. Third son of Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, familiarly known as *Bell-the-Cat*, he was, after studying at the University of St Andrews, and obtaining orders, appointed in 1501 Provost of St Giles' church. Subsequently, on the recommendation of Queen Margaret, he was in 1516 preferred to the bishopric of Dunkeld. As a politician and churchman, addicted to intrigues, and which resulted in his deprivation, he as a poet cherished the classic muse. With an unbounded admiration of Virgil, he executed a poetical translation of the Æneid, which attracted contemporary scholars, and has frequently been printed. Of his two earlier poems, "The Palice of Honour" and "King Hart," both allegories, the former was finished at the age of twenty-six, and presents evidence of correct scholarship rather than of poetical genius; in the latter, counsels intended for the young are blended with a kind of monkish piety. In the prologues and epilogues to his Virgil, he has afforded indications of his poetical taste; also of his literary opinions. In his poetry he exhibits a love of external nature; yet several of his compositions are defiled with oaths, also by an overstrained imagery.

Early in the sixteenth century historical learning was sustained by the onerous labours of Hector Boece. One of three brothers, who severally attained a measure of eminence, Hector prosecuted his studies

abroad, and thereafter became Professor of Philosophy in the University of Paris. There he formed the intimacy of Erasmus, by whom he is celebrated for his eloquence. In the year 1500 he, on the invitation of Bishop Elphinston, accepted office as Principal of the University of Aberdeen. He now conceived the idea of publishing a history of Scotland in the Latin tongue, but in executing this task he was more concerned about a correct latinity, than as to any stringent accuracy in his details. Hence in his history monkish legends and medieval romance are specially conspicuons. It is, however, not to be assumed, as by some recent writers has been done, that the authorities quoted as the sources of his history are unreal, or that they are forgeries which were imposed on his credulity. With respect to one of his chief authorities, Veremund, archdeacon of St Andrews, it has been shown that a history of the kingdom by a person of that name was extant in the end of the sixteenth century, and it seems reasonable to regard him as that "Ricardus Veyrement" who witnessed two charters granted at Falkland in 1267, and which are quoted in the Chartulary of St Andrews.[1]

Boece's history was continued by John Ferrerius, a native of Piedmont, who extended the narrative from the death of James I. to the reign of James III., the

[1] "Historians of Scotland." Edin., 1871. 8vo. Vol. i., preface, xxxviii., xxxix., note.

earlier work appearing at Paris in 1526, the latter in 1574.

Deemed a valuable repository of national history, the work of Boece and his continuator was, at the instance of James V., entrusted to John Bellenden for translation into the vernacular. Bellenden, who was an accomplished latinist, commenced his labours in 1533, and completed them three years later. His translation is the earliest specimen of Scottish prose literature; and it is interesting to remark that he was rewarded with a pension of £78, in addition to his revenues as archdeacon of Moray and canon of Ross. Devoted to literary pursuits, Bellenden produced a translation of the first five books of Livy, also other writings both in prose and verse. His poetical remains evince an elegant taste, with a somewhat discursive fancy. An advanced politician, he withdrew from the country during the struggles which preceded the Reformation, and in connection with his translation of Boece's history he has in an epistle to his royal patron ventured to expatiate on the duty of kings, and to depict the evil effects of tyranny and despotism.

On behalf of James V., a version of Boece was executed in metre by William Stewart, a member of his household, latterly priest at Quothquhan. Commenced in April 1521, it was completed in September 1525, in a MS. containing 70,000 lines. From the

original MS. preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge, it was in 1858 as one of the Rolls publications published under the editorship of William B. D. D. Turnbull.

As a contrast to Boece's credulous relation, John Mair composed a history of Great Britain, in reality of Scotland, in which monastic legends are ignored. A professor in the Sorbonne, Mair imbibed in France opinions strongly tinctured with republicanism. When dealing with the war of independence he rejects Edward's claim of superiority, yet less condemns English aggression than the vacillating conduct of those who ought to have resisted it. Venerating Wallace as a patriot, he is uncertain whether in the circumstances of the country his resistance to Edward was altogether prudent. Looking upon the indolence and depravity of the monks, he deprecates the injudicious liberality of princes. With no special reverence for the throne, he holds that incapable princes should be deprived. Mair completed his history prior to 1518, when he became Professor of Theology at Glasgow; in 1523 he was transferred to a similar office at St Andrews. At Glasgow he had as a pupil John Knox; at St Andrews, George Buchanan; and while both these remarkable men, by his prelections, were led to detect ecclesiastical abuses, they were happily unmoved by his philosophy. Buchanan describes him

as more expert in detecting error than in vindicating truth; and with pointed reference to the name of *Major*, which he classically assumed, he sarcastically styles him "solo cognomine major." Contemporaneously with Mair flourished the celebrated Florence Wilson, author of the treatise "De Animi Tranquillitate," and who, on account of his learning and personal worth, is commended by Buchanan.

"The Complaynt of Scotland," a prose work, presenting an exaggerated picture of the unsettled state of public affairs subsequent to the battle of Pinkie, has been assigned to different authors,—a preponderance of opinion being in favour of Sir James Inglis, who, from 1508 to 1550, was a monk of the Abbey of Cambuskenneth. Strongly attached to the Romish faith, and dedicating his performance to Queen Mary of Guise, the writer, in a series of twenty chapters, addresses an admonition to all classes, in the hope, as he remarks, of bringing back the country to the comfort of former times. The clergy he counsels to concern themselves in amending their personal behaviour, rather than in extirpating heresy by the stake. Uncertain about the future of his country, he feels that some benefit might accrue by strengthening the bonds of hostility to England. Apart from its political interest, the "Complaynt" is valuable in presenting a portraiture of contemporary manners. In connection with popular literature it

enumerates forty-eight tales, thirty-seven songs or ballads, and thirty dance tunes.

During the first half of the sixteenth century we discover in one who first wore the uniform of a royal page, latterly the robes of Lyon King of Arms, the poetical pioneer of important changes. Educated along with David Beaton, the future cardinal, at the University of St Andrews, David Lindsay entered the household of James IV. on the 12th April 1512, the day on which James V. was born. And when the great disaster on the field of Flodden deprived the country of its rash and adventurous sovereign, Lindsay became companion of the young king. For eleven years he was James's attendant, associate, and master of sports—services subsequently acknowledged by his receiving knighthood, and being installed in his heraldic office.

When he was waiting at Court, Lindsay became cognisant of that sacerdotal levity which was the special degradation of his age, and in the manner of Dunbar indited pasquils at the cost of the clergy. Relieved from Court trammels, he in 1528 composed his "Dreme," a satire upon the prevailing corruption, and which in the moral earnestness of the writer derived power and force. In his "Dreme" he supposes that he was in the centre of the earth, and that there, in the region of hell, he found kings and emperors, but more conspicuously popes and cardinals

and bishops, the spectacle affording him an opportunity of inveighing against the vices of the clergy. Subsequent to his "Dreme," Lindsay produced "The Testament and Complaynt of the Kingis Papyngo," in which he strips contemporary churchmen of their pretended sanctity, scarcely leaving them a solitary virtue.

Lindsay's greatest work, "The Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis," a morality containing a mixture of real and allegorical characters, was, in February 1539-40, performed at Linlithgow, in presence of the king and queen, also of a multitude of spectators. Among other ecclesiastical abuses the poet satirizes relic worship and pardon-traffic ; he also exposes the chicanery of consistorial law, and derides clerical pretentiousness. To the theme he vigorously returns in his "Monarchie," a long poem composed in his old age, and in which he especially condemns auricular confession, and the injustice of withholding the Scriptures from the laity in their own language. His other considerable poem, "The Historie of Squyer Meldrum," a tale of chivalry, is chiefly to be remarked for a humorous vivacity.

Publicly performed under royal sanction, and circulated among the common people, Lindsay's compositions moved the clergy with apprehension, and at a Convention held at Edinburgh on the 27th November 1549, under the presidentship of Arch-

bishop Hamilton, it was determined that all books containing rhymes, which embraced scandalous reflections upon the Church, should forthwith be delivered up. Personally the Lyon King was safe, but Friar Keillor, of the Blackfriars Monastery at Edinburgh, who followed in his wake, was arraigned and burned. Before the close of his career, Lindsay was privileged as one of the Protestant congregation at Andrews, to invite John Knox to the exercise of the ministry.

If we are justified in ascribing to James V. "The Gaberlunzie Man" and "The Jollie Beggar," we discover the period to which may be assigned the earlier of those comic ballads which retain a place in popular esteem. Psalms and hymns in the vernacular were used in those families which had embraced the Reformed doctrines, of which specimens have been preserved in "The Compendious Booke of Godly and Spirituall Songs," by the brothers John and Robert Wedderburn.

In furthering the cause of Reformed truth, these poetical writers are entitled to special commemoration —Alexander Cunningham, fifth Earl of Glencairn, Henry Balnaves of Halhill, and Professor John Davidson of St Andrews. Thomas the hermit of Loretto is, by Lord Glencairn, represented as deploring that the Lutherans were contemning their monastic order, also reading the New Testament in English. Under the

form of advice to hunters, Balnaves administers counsels in allegory; Davidson presents a metrical panegyric on John Knox, and a crushing satire on the Regent Morton's grasping policy towards the Reformed Church.

In defence of the unreformed Church the more conspicuous prose literature is embraced in the Catechism which in 1551 was issued in the name of Archbishop Hamilton; also in the writings of Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel; Ninian Winzet, abbot of the Scottish monastery at Ratisbon; and of James Tyrie, John Hamilton, William Hamilton, and Nicol Burne. On the Reformed side as prose writers are John Knox and George Buchanan. Knox composed his history of the Church in the vernacular, and which in this respect supplements the labours of Bellenden. In preparing a history of the kingdom, Buchanan adopted the manner of Boece in unreservedly accepting the testimony of the chroniclers, his attention being concentrated chiefly on his style. In their polemical writings both reformers indulge the sarcastic vein. In crushing irony Buchanan's verses on the Franciscan friars are without a parallel, while in his Latin version of the Psalms, he has exhibited a grace of diction which had rendered famous an ancient Roman.

From the tutorage of Buchanan, James VI. derived that love of learning which considerably neutralised the vacillation of his character. So early as his

eighteenth year, James issued a work entitled "The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie," and not long afterwards composed his "Paraphrase of the Revelation of St John." Other poetical works followed, and latterly, as his preceptor had rendered the Psalms in Latin verse, he meditated their production in English metre; his version stopped at the 31st Psalm. Of his prose works the more considerable is "The Demonologie," and though obnoxious to ridicule, it is not without value as a record of prevailing superstitions.

Of the other poets conspicuous in the sixteenth century, a first place is due to Alexander Scott, who on amatory and other themes has composed with vivacity and sprightliness. In his poem of "The Cherrie and the Slae," which has often been printed, Alexander Montgomery evinces a profuse imagery and a classic diction.

Two indefatigable collectors of the elder minstrelsy, Sir Richard Maitland and George Bannatyne severally composed verses; the former censured the prevailing vices. As a group may be named Alexander Hume, Andrew Melville, and Alexander Arbuthnot. In his "Day Estivall," and other sacred poems, Hume is pleasing rather than powerful; as a writer of Latin verses, Melville exhibits force and elegance; Arbuthnot (whose poetry remains unprinted in the Maitland MSS.) evinces a sportive exhilaration.

Robert [Lord] Semple, who died in 1595, composed a long poem, "The Sege of the Castel of Edinburgh;" also a pungent philippic against Archbishop Adamson. Adamson was himself an accomplished writer of Latin verse. Among the Latin poets whose compositions are included in the "Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum," the more notable are Sir Thomas Craig, David Hume of Godscroft, John Johnston, Hercules Rollock, and Sir Robert Aytoun. Apart from his Latin compositions, Sir Robert Aytoun is author of lyrics, in smooth and classic English, chiefly amatory.

The more remarkable Scottish poets of the earlier portion of the seventeenth century are Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, and William Drummond of Hawthornden. Though the former owed his elevation to colonising enterprise and political subserviency, he is also conspicuous by his muse. Styled by James VI. his "philosophical poet," he indulges in historical parallelisms, with disquisitions in ethics and on theology. Lord Stirling's more considerable poems are his "Monarchicke Tragedies," and his "Dooms-day, or the Great Day of the Lord's Judgment."

As a poet, William Drummond has formed his style upon Italian models. His "Flowers of Sion" are rich in imagery and of exquisite delicacy, while not less bright and harmonious is his poem of "Forth Feasting," which, in 1617, he composed in honour of

the King's visit. In prose Drummond is inflated and rhetorical, a remark which applies both to his "Cypress Grove" and to his "History of the Five Jameses."

Among the less conspicuous verse-writers of the early part of the seventeenth century are Sir David Murray, author of the "Tragical Death of Sophonisba;" Sir Robert Kerr, Earl of Ancram, a versifier of the Psalms; Elizabeth Melville, wife of John Colville of Culross, author of "The Godly Dream," and Zachary Boyd, minister at Glasgow, whose meritorious drama, "The Last Battle of the Soul in Death," is imperfectly sustained by his "Zion's Flowers," a paraphrase of scriptural subjects, which abound in passages grotesque and ludicrous.

Towards the close of the sixteenth and at the commencement of the seventeenth century, theological learning was represented by Robert Rollock, first Principal of the University of Edinburgh, who composed Latin commentaries on the Scriptures, also by Robert Pont, minister of St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, who published "A Translation and Interpretation of the Helvetian Confession." At Glasgow, theological learning was sustained by Robert Boyd of Trochrig, the learned Principal of the University; and by his successor, the laborious John Cameron. The discourses of Robert Bruce in the Scottish dialect confer lustre upon his age. An expositor of the Book of

Revelation, and the composer of religious verses, John Napier of Merchistoun has, as the inventor of Logarithms, a claim to immortality.

Inaugurated by Napier, Scottish science was throughout the seventeenth century sustained by the honoured names of Sir Andrew Balfour, Dr Robert Morrison, Dr James Gregory, Sir Robert Sibbald, and Dr Archibald Pitcairn. Possessed of an abundant enterprise, as well as a fertile invention, Sir Andrew Balfour established the Botanic Garden at Edinburgh, reared a national hospital for the sick, projected the Royal College of Physicians, and introduced into Scotland the art of dissection. Dr Morrison's prelections on botany in the University of Oxford materially advanced that important science. Eminent as a mathematician, Dr James Gregory is chiefly remembered by his invention of the reflecting telescope. Sir Robert Sibbald is alike remarkable for his researches as a naturalist and as an historical inquirer. Harvey's Theory of the Blood was finally demonstrated by the scientific labours of Dr Archibald Pitcairn.

Juridical learning, inaugurated in the sixteenth century by the erudition of Sir Thomas Craig and Sir John Skene, was in the seventeenth sustained by the treatises of Sir Thomas Hope and the Institutions of Sir George Mackenzie and Viscount Stair.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century John

Leslie, Bishop of Ross, produced his Latin history of the Scottish nation, and his "Defence of Queen Mary;" also his "History of Scotland" in the vernacular. Simultaneously appeared the defences of Queen Mary's character by Adam Blackwood, the Catholic controversialist. Next followed various historical compilers, who, in annals and chronicles, recorded the more considerable events of former years; also diarists and journal-writers, who, with more or less intelligence, denoted contemporary occurrences. Of the former class, the more notable are Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, who in a measure supplemented Boece; Sir James Balfour, whose "Annals" were printed in our own age, and Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit, author of that strange medley of fact and calumny and fiction, "The Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen."

Among the diarists and journal-writers are the author of the "Diurnal of Occurrents;" Robert Birrel, author of the "Diary;" Robert Gordon of Straloch, also eminent as a geographer; James Gordon, author of the "History of Scottish Affairs from 1637 to 1641;" Richard Bannatyne, the journal-writer; the author of the Chronicle of Aberdeen; David Moysie, of the "Memoirs;" John Spalding and Robert Law, each writers of "Memorials;" and the diarists John Lamont and John Nicoll. But from the close of the sixteenth to that of the seventeenth century,

the more systematic contributors to the national history were in the ecclesiastical connection. In point of time, the earliest is Thomas Dempster, author of the "Historia Ecclesiastica," a work containing the lives of saints and lettered churchmen, but wholly lacking in authority. In the Presbyterian connection, "The Autobiography and Diary of James Melville, 1546-1610," "The History of the Kirk," by David Calderwood, and the "Booke of the Universall Kirk," severally present important materials. Next follow John Row's "Historie of the Kirk, 1558-1637;" the "Letters and Journals of Principal Robert Baillie;" and the "Secret and True History of the Church," by James Kirkton. On the Episcopal side the ecclesiastical historians are John Spottiswood, Archbishop of St Andrews, and Dr Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, both writers of great moderation and respectable authority. As conspicuous controversialists are to be remarked Bishop John Sage and Principal Gilbert Rule, the former an opposer of Presbytery—the latter its vindicator. The labours of the historians of Scottish Presbytery are supplemented by Sir John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall in his "Historical Observes" and "Historical Notices;" also in the exhaustive "History of the Sufferings of the Church," by the indefatigable Robert Wodrow.

Of the various theological writers in the earlier

portion of the seventeenth century, a few are conspicuous. By the erudite Professor Ferme was produced a valuable Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. Unsettled in his ecclesiastical opinions, but withal earnest and charitable, John Durie largely contributes to the theology of his age. An uncompromising controversialist, Samuel Rutherford is scholarly and devotional. In his doctrinal writings, George Gillespie exhibits an earnest piety. Robert Fleming, author of "The Fulfilling of the Scripture" and other works is enquiring and reflective, while in "The Christian's Great Interest," William Guthrie has produced a work eminently suited for the pious household. Of a saintly disposition, Robert Leighton, Archbishop of Glasgow, in his "Commentaries" and "Discourses and Lectures" equals in literary skill the more celebrated divines of the English Church, while exhibiting a fervency peculiarly his own. And not unworthy of a permanent place in religious literature are the commentaries and theological discourses of James Durham, David Dickson, and Robert Traill.

Amidst the ecclesiastical and political strife of the seventeenth century, small place remained for emotional poetry. Yet the art was cultivated by a few. Though chiefly known as a military strategist, the Marquis of Montrose was a graceful writer of sacred verse. In social jocundity, Robert Semple of

Beltrees sustains the poetical lustre of his house, while in the rustic and humorous songs of his son Francis, the versifying faculty is vigorously maintained. In Hudibrastic measure Samuel Colville and William Cleland, the Covenanter, indulge an effective satire.

Slumbering for a time, Scottish ballad regained with the Revolution vitality and force. Lady Wardlaw composed "Hardyknute," and Lady Grizel Baillie several lays, of which that commencing "Were na my heart licht I wad dee," was a favourite with the poet Burns. But it was reserved for Allan Ramsay to fully re-awaken the minstrel genius of his country. By his familiar epistles reviving the times of Dunbar and Lindsay, he composed songs for the cottage and the hill-side, while in his pastoral comedy, "The Gentle Shepherd," he reached the zenith of simplicity and tenderness. Ramsay was followed by other poetical writers who also upheld the dignity of the national muse. A poet of the first rank, James Thomson combines in his various compositions a pious fervour with a high-souled benevolence; in his "Seasons" he presents the charms of the rural landscape in strains thrilling as they are harmonious. In his poem of "The Grave," Robert Blair depicts, in Miltonic verse, the sombre aspects of the sepulchre; and in his ballad of "William and

Margaret," David Mallet evokes sentiments of solemnity and terror.

If in the seventeenth century the notes of the minstrel were intermittent, the voice of philosophy was silent. With the appearance of David Hume in the eighteenth burst forth a new intellectual spring. Hume's "Treatise on Human Nature," published in 1737, discovered a flaw in the structure of the accepted philosophy, which, constituting a new epoch in the history of metaphysics, stimulated that course of active enquiry and exact logic, which has placed on a sound and irrefragable basis the evidence of revealed truth he sought to controvert. Replying to Hume's attack on Revelation, Dr George Campbell has in his "Essay on Miracles" evinced a vigorous acuteness and a rare discernment, while the cause of revealed religion is forcibly upheld by Dr James Beattie in his "Immutability of Truth" and in his "Christian Evidences."

In 1759 Dr Adam Smith published his "Theory of Moral Sentiments," a work which, though its leading doctrine resolving the moral feelings into sympathy is an ingeniously defended paradox, is valuable on the score of illustration. His next work, "The Wealth of Nations," which appeared seventeen years later, gained him the highest step in the ladder of philosophy, and gave him rank as founder of the science of Political Economy. An acute and

powerful thinker, Dr Thomas Reid produced in 1764 his "Inquiry into the Human Mind," followed after an interval of twenty years by his treatise on "The Intellectual Powers." In spite of a somewhat ineffective style, with polemical tendencies singularly repellent, Dr Reid has by his correct reasoning materially advanced the science of morals. Of other ethical writers of the eighteenth century the more conspicuous are Henry Home Lord Kames, and James Burnet Lord Monboddo, though the learned speculations of the latter are unhappily obscured by conclusions whimsical and impotent. In the rear of the century followed up Professor Dugald Stewart, who, without any decisive originality or force, has adorned his pages with pleasing illustrations, and rendered agreeable the pursuit of philosophy by a style perspicuous and classical.

Among the early historical writers of the eighteenth century were Thomas Innes, author of the "Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland;" Adam Anderson, author of the history of commerce, afterwards improved and extended by David Macpherson; James Anderson, compiler of "Diplomata Scotiae;" Thomas Ruddiman, the eminent grammarian, who edited Buchanan's History, and published various historical memorials; William Maitland, author of the histories of Edinburgh and London; Dr Patrick Abercrombie, author of "The Martial Achievements of

the Scots Nation;" and the diligent and painstaking Walter Goodall. In his "General History of England" William Guthrie has evinced a patient industry, which is also exhibited in his Geographical Grammar. To David Hume was reserved the honour of presenting the "History of England" in a style so pleasing as to impart to uninteresting events and circumstances the charm of a fascinating romance. More careful in his authorities, Dr William Robertson has, in his "History of Scotland," also in his Histories of America and of the Emperor Charles V., used a style so exquisitely harmonious as is apt to induce an admiration of the author to the detriment of that attention which is due to his narrative.

As a companion to Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," Dr Adam Ferguson produced his "History of the Roman Republic," a work in which the results of unwearied research are presented in a style elegant and perspicuous. Similarly may be characterised Henry's "History of England," a source on which popular writers have largely drawn for well-authenticated materials. As an historical writer Dr Tobias Smollett did not excel, and John Pinkerton, laborious as an investigator, has through narrow views and wanton prepossessions, forfeited that confidence otherwise due to his learning and industry. Of the national history the well-authenticated annals are presented through the judicial exactitude of Sir

David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes. Towards the close of the century, Sir John Dalrymple, James Macpherson, the editor of Ossian, and Dr Thomas Somerville, illustrated in important works the later reigns of the House of Stewart, and traced the early progress of constitutional government. The antiquarian labours of Alexander Gordon in his "Itinerarium Septentrionale," were adequately supplemented by Major-General William Roy in his "Military Antiquities," also in the work on "Roman Antiquities" by Dr Alexander Adam.

In his "Lectures on Ecclesiastical History," Dr George Campbell unites the skill of the historian with the genius of the philosopher. Important service to historical enquirers has been rendered by Dr John Blair, in his "Chronology." The cause of historical criticism and literary research has eminently profited by the writings of William Tytler, and of his son, Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee. A History of the Scottish Church, by John Skinner, the ingenious poet, supplies interesting ecclesiastical details from an episcopal view-point. In their several "Histories," Dr Gilbert Stuart, Dr William Crookshank, and Robert Heron have, by presenting important details of Scottish national events not to be conveniently found elsewhere, disarmed any ungenerous criticism. The "History of Philip II.," by Dr Robert Watson, is a model of

literary industry, as is William Russell's "History of Ancient and Modern Europe." In his "Political Index," Robert Beatson has supplied a work of reference essential to every library. The editor of "The British Poets," Dr Robert Anderson, has, in presenting the works of others, and in commemorating the history of their lives, raised a monument to his own indefatigable industry. In connection with the third edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," and as a vigorous essayist and biographical writer, Bishop George Gleig has claim to honourable remembrance.

Early in the eighteenth century doctrinal theology found congenial and acceptable expositors in Thomas Boston and Thomas Halyburton; also in the discourses and other writings of the brothers Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine. In the cause of rendering familiar the contents of the sacred volume, Alexander Cruden published his admirable "Concordance," and John Brown his "Dictionary" and "Self-Interpreting" edition of the Scriptures, while these and other theological works by the same writers Dr James MacKnight has supplemented in his "Harmony of the Gospels." As the century advanced, evangelical teaching was obscured under the pervading influence of a lifeless morality. To the non-doctrinal school belongs Dr Hugh Blair, whose "Sermons," chiefly on account of their elegant diction, experienced a

reception such as had not previously been extended to any writings of the same class. Along with his "Lectures on Rhetoric," Dr Blair's "Sermons" were added to every library. Discourses and expositions evangelical and fervent were issued by Dr John Drysdale, Dr John Erskine, Dr James Fordyce, and Dr Robert Walker; and from the pen of Dr John Logan, published by his executors. In his "Pastoral Care" Dr Alexander Gerard has forcibly illustrated the duties and obligations of the sacred office; he has also produced a valuable dissertation "On the Genius and Evidences of Christianity." Also in the eighteenth century appear the earlier writings of Principal George Hill and Professor John Dick, both subsequently distinguished for their matured systems of theology. Connected with the century are the earlier writings of Principal William Laurence Brown, whose theological and other works, subsequently issued, attained a wide though not a permanent acceptance. At the close of the century, Dr Alexander Geddes, a learned but reckless and eccentric writer, produced a new translation of the Scriptures, which gave universal offence and subjected him to ecclesiastical penalties.

Following the age of Ramsay and Thomson arose a succession of nameless bards, who dedicated their effusions to the Jacobite cause. And that triumph in pastoral comedy which Ramsay had won, was now

to be shared by a successful wooer of the tragic muse. Through his tragedy of "Douglas," John Home obtained a celebrity which his failure in similar efforts did not materially diminish. Genius matured before the age of twenty, Michael Bruce consecrated to descriptive and serious verse. In humorous sentiment and comic scenes Robert Fergusson luxuriated. In his "Minstrel" Professor James Beattie blends with the utterances of the poetical aspirant some lofty sentiments, a rich imagery, and an harmonious diction. In his poem of "The Shipwreck," Robert Falconer combines didactic energy with forcible description. The translator of the "Lusiad," William Julius Mickle, is, especially in his shorter poems, remarkable for a vein easy and melodious. By his graceful verse Thomas Blacklock solaced the loss of sight and gratified his contemporaries. With a passionate fervour John Logan composed lyrics secular and sacred. The pastoral and rural harmonies are sustained in the fancy of Robert Crawford, the melody of Sir Gilbert Elliot, the pathos of John Lowe and of John Mayne, and the exquisite tenderness of Jane Elliot, Lady Anne Barnard, and Anne Grant. In the songs of William Hamilton of Bangour, John Skinner, and Alexander Ross, have been attained the higher reaches of national jocundity. Songs, social and patriotic, which might otherwise have perished, were gleaned, illustrated, and pre-

served through the lettered industry of David Herd, George Thomson, and William Stenhouse.

In the field of minstrelsy there had been a vigorous progression, yet it may be doubted whether was reached a superiority exceeding that which three centuries before had culminated in the gifts and faculties of Dunbar. There ensued an important change. Startling his countrymen and surprising his age, Robert Burns inscribed on the national heart the forthgivings of his genius. At his touch inanimate nature became vocal, while the brook rippled music to his lyre. In the rush, in the wild flower, and in the thistle he found interpreters to his muse. In the familiar utterances of the peasant he embodied the wisdom of the philosopher, and sounded humanity to its depths. Invoking tenderness at its source, he drew sympathy from the fountain. Exuberant in social mirth, he by wholesome words gladdened the desponding. Rightly interpreting the dignity of humanity, he found in poverty a privilege, and in lack of fortune a trial of virtue. Repressing arrogance, he struck down pride, scourged pretence, and chastened frivolity. The songs of his country soiled in the mud of ages he refined and purified. Under the influence of his muse freedom acquired fresh lustre, and through the witchery of his song melody attained new strength. With his advent the national muse obtained an energetic force,

and became a power to move and to delight the world.

In the poetry of the eighteenth century must be included the minstrelsy of the Gael. Rob Donn, otherwise Robert Mackay, enjoys a wide popularity; he sings chiefly of love. A master of sacred verse, Dugald Buchanan is famous as author of "The Skull," also for his hymns. Duncan Macintyre is immortal in "Bendourain." In "Caberfae," the clan song of the Mackenzies, Norman Macleod is alike remarkable for his poetry and his patriotism.

With the fanciful creations of the poet are associated those of the tale-writer. Yet in Scotland romantic prose writing did not commence till poetry, lyrical, narrative, and dramatic, had made considerable progress. Dr Tobias Smollett, who in verse had inspired patriotism, betook himself to prose fiction, less from predilection than as a source of emolument. Father of Scottish fictionists, he was followed by an interesting progeny. Connected with the country, not by birth but by early residence, Elizabeth Hamilton has in "The Cottagers of Glenburnie" presented a vivid portraiture of rural manners. Actuated by a high moral purpose, Dr John Moore, author of "Zeluco," proved in the same direction an effective coadjutor. In the nineteenth century, fiction in verse and prose was inaugurated by the genius of Sir Walter Scott. That minstrelsy which he gleaned in secluded

valleys served to enkindle and afterwards to foster his own inspiration.

In his three great poems, "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," "Marmion," and "The Lady of the Lake," Scott has blended loyalty with patriotism, chivalry with virtue, and to every scene and landscape which he depicts has imparted a beauty not its own by associations of princely valour and of faithful love. What he accomplished in verse, he with a becoming caution adventured in prose, surpassing in the numerous romances which proceeded from his pen, all his predecessors in delineating various character, and in rendering vivid every spectacle which he portrays.

Among the immediate followers of Sir Walter Scott as writers of fiction, though differing essentially in strain, are three accomplished gentlewomen, Susan Edmonstone Ferrier,[1] Mrs Mary Brunton, and Mrs Christian Johnstone. These severally evince a hearty

[1] It may not detract from the dignity of historical disquisition to refer in a note to a circumstance which some years ago came to the author's knowledge in connection with Miss Ferrier. She possessed an album, to which both Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott contributed some lines of poetry, and which are still unprinted. When Burns resided in Edinburgh, Susan Ferrier was a small child, but her father, James Ferrier, Writer to the Signet, evinced hospitality towards the poet, occasionally receiving him at his house in George Street, and it is supposed that Burns added his contribution to gratify the future novelist's eldest sister. To that lady the poet addressed a short epistle, which is included in his works. Miss Susan Ferrier's album is now in

mirthfulness, a nice discrimination and much elevating sentiment. Though not a master of his art, John Galt, who came later, arrests attention by his humour, and in his graphic delineations commands approval and interest. The entertaining sketches of Michael Scott under the title of "Tom Cringle's Log," retain that popularity with which at the first they were hailed. Ineffective as an historian, and as an essayist more opinionative than brilliant, George Robert Gleig is in his military and other tales entertaining and vigorous.

In England periodical literature had made some progress prior to its being planted in a northern latitude. The "Scots Magazine," started as a monthly issue in 1739, received such a measure of support as to sustain its existence till 1825, when, under an altered name, it was fortified and revived. Ruddiman's "Weekly Magazine," originated in 1768, was, in 1784, completed in thirty-eight volumes. In 1779 an attempt to revive the production of serial papers such as those which adorned the age of Queen Anne, was first in the "Mirror," and subsequently in the "Lounger," creditably sustained. Henry Mackenzie, the editor of these two serials, has, in his "Man of Feeling" and other publications, left upon Scottish letters the impress

the possession of her grand-niece, Lady Grant, whose late husband, Sir Alexander Grant, Bart., was the distinguished Principal of the University of Edinburgh.

of a vigorous culture. The "Edinburgh Magazine," commenced in 1783, was first edited by James Sibbald, chiefly known for his "Chronicle of Scottish Poetry" —subsequently by Dr Robert Anderson. Started in 1791, "The Bee" of Dr James Anderson—chiefly a vehicle of philosophical sentiment—sustained for three years a useful and honourable mission.

An "Edinburgh Review," projected in 1755, was intended as a half-yearly issue, but attained only a second number, though its contributors included Dr Adam Smith and Principal Robertson. Revived in 1802 the project proved an eminent success. Among the contributors were Sir Walter Scott, Professor John Playfair, Sir James Mackintosh, Sidney Smith, Francis Horner, and Henry Brougham. Through a choice diction, a striking originality of thought, and a marvellous versatility, the editor, Francis Jeffrey, sustained during the twenty-seven years he held office a reputation as the first reviewer of his time. In April 1817 "Blackwood's Magazine" began, somewhat inauspiciously, a career of future prosperity and usefulness.

Early in the eighteenth century, John Law of Lauriston, the financial projector, ventilated his views on monetary circulation, and William Paterson, founder of the Bank of England, issued his numerous papers upon trade and commerce. At a period considerably later, the eccentric John Oswald published his "Review

of the Constitution." Towards the close of the century the importance of adequately ascertaining the extent and value of the national resources conduced to statistical enquiry. Chiefly through the patriotic enterprise of Sir John Sinclair were prepared agricultural surveys of the different counties, while, under his editorial care, was published in twenty-one octavo volumes a statistical account of the several parishes, from materials supplied by the incumbents. Already had George Chalmers published his "Political Annals of the United Colonies," and his "Comparative Strength of Great Britain during the present and four preceding Reigns"—works all but forgotten under the enhanced reputation derived by the industrious author, from his great though unfinished "Caledonia."

Among many able expounders of the national law, the more conspicuous in the eighteenth century, and subsequently, are John Erskine, the distinguished author of the "Principles," and "Institutes;" Baron Hume, author of the invaluable "Commentaries"; and Professor George Bell, the most esteemed of British writers on commercial jurisprudence.

Biography initiated in the seventeenth century by Thomas Dempster, was a century later followed up in the elaborate memoirs of Dr George Mackenzie; also by Sir Robert Douglas, in his "Peerage" and "Baronetage." But in point of literary skill the best biographical performance ever executed by a Scotsman

was "The Life of Dr Samuel Johnson" by James Boswell. This memoir which appeared in 1790 has, in its life-like portraiture had no literary parallel.

Historical composition which in the eighteenth century had at the hands of Scottish cultivators attained a pitch of excellence, was carried into the nineteenth under the pilotage of Malcolm Laing. Having completed Dr Henry's "History of England," Laing designed a "History of Scotland from the Union of the Crowns to the Union of the Kingdoms," which he has executed with judicial precision and in a forcible narrative. The History of Greece, by Dr John Gillies, Historiographer Royal, has not been displaced by more elaborate performances, and in a "History of India," James Mill has rendered creditable and permanent service. Sir Walter Scott's "Life of Napoleon," a brilliant chronicle of scenes and events, acquired new interest in a judicious abridgment. As a biographer and an historian, John Dunlop will live in his "History of Fiction" and in his "History of Roman Literature." During the earlier section of the century, Dr John Jamieson issued his "Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language," and Sir John Graham Dalyell his "Fragments of Scottish History." To the same period belong the learned and exhaustive memoirs of John Knox and Andrew Melville, by Dr Thomas

M'Crie, and the learned memoir of George Buchanan and the "Lives of the Scottish Poets," by Dr David Irving.

In 1796, when Burns had completed his career of genius and of misfortune, Sir Walter Scott, by publishing his ballad of "The Wild Huntsman," afforded forcible indication that on the death of the illustrious bard had not been thrown aside the poetic mantle of his country. Three years later Thomas Campbell, at the age of twenty-one, published his "Pleasures of Hope," a poem in which pictures, steeped in the richest hues of the imagination, are combined with a polished diction and an exquisite sweetness. Having in a first effort reached the zenith of success, Campbell succeeded, through the exercise of a fastidious taste, in retaining his poetical pre-eminence. In his more popular lyrics he has upon the wildness of the romantic, engrafted the elegance of the classic school, and in the words of a competent critic, has presented "a weeded garden, of which every blossom has dedicated its beauty to the sun." By his descriptive verse and his humorous ballad of "Watty and Meg," Alexander Wilson had acquired a poetical celebrity, though, as a naturalist he had remained unknown. In song, Hector Macneill and Robert Tannahill evince much simplicity and tenderness; the latter is luxuriant and copious. Though deficient in the management of her themes, as well as

in the structure of her verse, Joanna Baillie exhibits in her tragedies a strong imaginative energy.

Of the poets who appear at a later stage, a first place is due to the Ettrick Shepherd. Nursed amidst the wilds and tutored among the solitudes of nature, his strong and vigorous imagination received impressions from the mountain, the cataract, and the wilderness, and he was moved by pictures and images which these scenes were suited to awaken. In the realm of the supernatural he revels as in his native element. The emanation of a vigorous fancy, his ballad of Kilmeny is a picture of pure thought and exquisite feeling. His songs abound in delicate pathos and are replete with pastoral dignity. A friend and cherished correspondent of the bard of Ettrick was the ingenious Allan Cunningham, whose imitation of the Border ballads deceived not only the ingenious Cromek, but even the acuteness of Sir Walter Scott. Though in his larger poems lacking constructiveness, Cunningham owns a fervent genius; his lyric muse is eminently plaintive. Exuberant in humour and steeped in pathos, the Baroness Nairne will live in her "Laird o' Cockpen" and the "Land o' the Leal"; her lays, not excepting her Jacobite minstrelsy, evince a warm benevolence and an ardent piety. Of an impulsive nature, Dr John Leyden has upon his verses impressed the energy of his character. In his principal poem, "The Scenes of Infancy," he com-

bines graceful versification with a genuine tenderness. In "The Sabbath," his first and best poem, James Graham presents in touching verse a vivid illustration of the national characteristics and of rural life. In his great poem, "The Course of Time," Robert Pollok occasionally approaches, in solemn and various illustration, the dignity of Milton, while at other times his strain is rhetorical rather than effective. In devotional fervour and in a powerful fancy James Montgomery has few compeers; his hymns, which are among the best in the language, evince deep reverence and an ardent piety. A graceful writer of song and ballad, David Vedder, in his "Temple of Nature" affords remarkable evidence of energetic thought.

As a poet, Professor John Wilson evidences a rich fancy; his longer poems are as threads strung with flowers; the shorter, graceful delineations of serene feeling and pastoral simplicity; and while, as an essayist, his style is refined and elevating, he in fiction holds the rod of the enchanter, and can at pleasure excite laughter or produce tears. A master of the plaintive, he is in humour replete with joyousness. As a critic he is terse, subtle, and incisive.

With a strong tendency to cynicism, John Gibson Lockhart is by turns tender, benevolent, humorous, and playful. The author of stirring verses, his prose is rich and copious. As a critic, keenly

pungent, he is in his tales pathetic, generous, and sentimental. While indulging bitter prejudices, and gratifying unworthy prepossessions, he has nevertheless in his "Memoir of Sir Walter Scott" produced a biography which in no secondary degree owes its interest to his skill. In his poem of "Anster Fair," Professor William Tennant has introduced into English verse the *ottava rima* of the Italian poets. But he disfigures his verse by elaboration, and his prose by its exuberance. Prominent as poets or verse-writers are Mrs John Hunter, Mrs Dugald Stewart, Mrs Anne Grant, Sir Alexander Boswell, Richard Gall, John Imlah, George Allan, Hamilton Paul, Thomas Pringle, Robert Allan, William Gillespie, John Struthers, Joseph Grant, William Thom, and Alexander Rodger.

Returning to the progress of philosophy, we discover the speculations of the former century carried into the present under the guidance of powerful writers. Among the more prominent are Archibald Alison, in his "Essay on the Principles of Taste;" Dr James Gregory, in his "Philosophical and Literary Essays;" Dr John Abercrombie, in his "Inquiries respecting the Intellectual Powers;" and Sir James Mackintosh, in his celebrated "Dissertation." Brilliant as a verse writer, Professor Thomas Brown has, in the originality and eloquence of his philosophical speculations, attained a first rank as a metaphysi-

cian. More recently Dr George Combe has, in a pure English style, ventilated his philosophical opinions.

Among the more powerful thinkers of our own times, Sir William Hamilton holds the first place; his contributions to mental science are marked by distinctive originality, and enforced by powerful argument. Metaphysical qualities not dissimilar have been evinced by his biographer, Professor John Veitch. In his "Institutes of Metaphysic," Professor James Frederick Ferrier has with choice language clothed much interesting speculation. In a graceful style Principal John Tulloch has exhibited the fruits of a vigorous research. In his "Method of the Divine Government," Dr James M'Cosh afforded early promise of that eminence which his subsequent labours have admirably secured. By philosophical acuteness are distinguished the moral and metaphysical writings of Principal John Cairns, Professor Alexander Campbell Fraser, Professor Robert Flint, and Professor Henry Calderwood. Into this country has Dr James Hutchison Stirling introduced the abstruse philosophy of Hegel, while Professor Edward Caird has sought to prove that the actual author of that philosophy was Immanuel Kant. As a writer on Logic, Professor Alexander Bain occupies no secondary place.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century the science of Political Economy was in his several

writings carried forward by Dr Robert Wallace; also by Sir John Sinclair in his "Political State of Europe," and in some other publications. Next followed the powerful expositions of Dr Thomas Chalmers, only to be obscured under the celebrity subsequently acquired by the author as an orator and a theologian. And at a period not distant from our own, John Ramsay M'Culloch has, in his original writings, also in his various compilations, materially extended the boundaries of economic speculation. Patrick Edward Dove, and James Wilson, editor of "The Economist," have rendered important service. In the department of physical science, Scotland has produced many eminent cultivators. The science of optics has by Sir David Brewster been illustrated in various works and memoirs. Among those who have intelligently observed the movements of the heavenly bodies are Mrs Mary Somerville, General Sir Thomas Macdougall Brisbane, Dr Thomas Dick, and Professor John Nichol.

In the eighteenth century Scottish mathematical learning was sustained in the ingenious works of Professor Colin Maclaurin, Professor Robert Simson, Dr Alexander Bryce, and Professor Matthew Stewart.

Among the more eminent mathematicians of the present century are Professor John Robison, Professor John Playfair, Professor Robert Hamilton, Sir James Ivory, Sir John Leslie, and Professor William Wallace.

In our own times practical astronomy is sustained by the abundant labours of Sir William Thomson and Professor Robert Grant.

Scottish mineralogical enquiry was inaugurated by Robert Wodrow, the eminent historian of the Church, who collected shells and other organic remains, which he deposited in his manse of Eastwood. In his "History of Rutherglen," published in 1793, David Ure has to the geology of that district, devoted many interesting pages. About the same time Dr James Hutton broached his "Theory of the Earth," a work followed by the mineralogical studies of Professor Robert Jamieson, Sir James Hall, and James Headrick, in his "View of the Mineralogy of Arran." But Scottish geology first obtained a scientific basis when appeared "The Principles of Geology," a work issued in 1830-3 by Professor, afterwards Sir Charles Lyell. What Lyell intelligently initiated, Sir Roderick Impey Murchison vigorously followed up. In the hands of Hugh Miller scientific technicalities were subordinated to a graceful diction and popular embellishment. Thereafter followed the scientific treatises of William Rhind, Charles Maclaren, Dr Henry Duncan, Dr John Anderson, Dr Robert Chambers, Thomas Davidson, and James Smith of Jordanhill. Dr David Page became conspicuous through his geological handbooks. In illustrating his theory of glacial motion, Principal James David Forbes has

rendered eminent service. Among living Scottish geologists, the more prominent are Sir Andrew Crombie Ramsay, the Duke of Argyle, Dr Archibald Geikie, Professor James Geikie, Benjamin N. Peach, and Dr Hugh Macmillan.

On fossil ichthyology, Dr Ramsay H. Traquair, and on other branches of palæontology Robert Kidston and John Young, have issued important papers. As an acute observer of the silurian rocks and a skilful collector of fossils in that formation, Mrs Robert Gray holds a foremost place.

During the eighteenth century botanical researches were illustrated in the works of Sir Robert Sibbald, the essays of Professor John Hope, the "Hortus Kewensis" of William Aiton, the periodical papers of Alexander Garden, and in the collections of William Roxburgh. At the close of the century horticultural science was made popular by John Abercrombie, and early in the present, through the abundant writings of John Claudius Loudoun. Scottish botany has been illustrated by David Douglas in his periodical papers, in the important contributions of George Gardner, Dr David Landsborough, James Dickson, Dr Robert Kaye Greville, Dr Patrick Neill, Professor John Hutton Balfour, and Professor George Dickie; also in the provincial labours of John Duncan and Robert Dick. Among living Scottish botanists the more conspicuous are Robert Fortune, Dr

Robert Hogg, Dr James Stirton, Dr Hugh Cleghorn, Professor Alexander Dickson, and William Carruthers. By Professor Isaac Bayley Balfour of Oxford is now being issued, under the auspices of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, an important work on the botany of Socotra. By his compilations in forestry, Dr John Crombie Brown is known favourably.

In other departments of natural history there are several eminent writers. What in relation to American ornithology was effected by Alexander Wilson, has by Professor William Macgillivray been accomplished in relation to the birds of Scotland. Author of works on Humming and British Birds, Sir William Jardine has therein, also in the "Naturalists' Library," materially advanced ornithological science. In his "History of British Animals," and other scientific writings, Professor John Fleming renders eminent service. On "Rare Animals in Scotland," Sir John Graham Dalyell has published an important work. The fruits of wide and accurate observation appear in the works of Professor John Walker, Professor David Low, Alexander Smellie, George Low, James Wilson, and Sir Thomas Dick Lauder. As a painstaking observer, Sir Charles Wyville Thomson will be honourably remembered. In his "Birds of the West of Scotland," Robert Gray has presented the fruits of long and accurate observation. In his various ornithological writings John Harvie-Brown

evinces acute observation. David Robertson has, in the department of microscopic zoology, shown a scientific aptitude. Secretary of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, James Hardy has in valuable papers effectively illustrated very important branches both of zoological and botanical science. The genius of Thomas Edward as a self-taught naturalist has, by Dr Samuel Smiles, been made the theme of a most interesting biography.

After an absence from this country of nearly twelve years, chiefly in connection with his enterprise to discover the source of the Nile, James Bruce of Kinnaird, in 1774, returned to his estate,—his "Travels in Abyssinia" appearing sixteen years later. Mungo Park, who sought to discover the source of the Niger, and perished in his second expedition, has in the narrative of his adventures imparted to African travel an enduring interest. Among other Scottish travellers who have published the results of careful exploration are the eccentric William Lithgow, John Bell of Antermony, Hugh Clapperton, Dr Patrick Brydone, Sir John Malcolm, Sir Alexander Burnes, General Sir James Edward Alexander, Henry David Inglis, Dr David Livingstone, and Colonel James Augustus Grant. Notable as voyagers are Captain Basil Hall, Sir John Ross, Sir James Clark Ross, Sir John Richardson, and Dr John Rae.

Of recent native writers in the department of history the most prominent is Thomas Carlyle. Exercising a keen insight into human nature, he has in relation to historic scenes vividly reproduced the actors whom he has described ; nor do his foreign style and artificial modes detract from the dignity and interest of his narrative. For his "History of Europe" Sir Archibald Alison has attained a literary pre-eminence, chiefly owing to the mass of authentic materials which he has industriously accumulated. Of the numerous writings in science and politics, and on miscellaneous themes produced by Henry, Lord Brougham, those of more general interest are his "Sketches of British Statesmen," and his "Essays on the British Constitution." Greater diligence than impartiality is by John, Lord Campbell displayed in his memoirs of the Lord Chancellors and of the Chief Justices of England. In his "History of the British Empire" George Brodie has, though in a defective style, successfully convicted David Hume of grave historical inaccuracies. An esteemed miscellaneous writer, Professor George Lillie Craik has produced a valuable history of literature, also of British commerce. A "Philological History of European Languages" by the celebrated Professor Alexander Murray was issued posthumously. Dr William Mure has produced a "Critical History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece." In

his "Political History of India," and other writings, Major-General Sir John Malcolm conjoins liberal sentiment with splendid erudition. Descended from a race of historical writers, Patrick Fraser Tytler has prepared his history of Scotland from important original materials, which with singular acuteness he has arranged. His successor in the same field, Dr John Hill Burton has presented important events to the exclusion of ephemeral, and with a masterly energy has illustrated his narrative. In its social and scholastic progress Scotland has been effectively described by Professor Cosmo Innes in his several interesting volumes. In "Scotland under her Early Kings," Edward William Robertson excites surprise by his learned and abundant criticisms. In his "Criminal Trials" Robert Pitcairn has successfully unfolded a chapter of the public morals which required careful elucidation. To the "New Statistical Account" by the parochial clergy, historical enquirers are indebted for most important details. The history of the Scottish clergy embodied in the "Fasti" of Dr Hew Scott has on the score of exhaustiveness and accuracy no parallel in ecclesiastical biography. Details of clerical life in times preceding the Reformation are set forth in Bishop Keith's "History of the Bishops," and by Dr Joseph Robertson in his "Concilia Scotiae." The laborious editor of the national records, Thomas Thomson, has a profound

claim on the national gratitude. Similar service has been rendered by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, James Maidment, Professor William Stevenson, and Bishop Alexander Penrose Forbes. In his "History of the Highlands," Dr James Browne lacks considerably in his authorities. The learned author of "The Sculptured Stones of Scotland," Dr John Stuart, is to be commended for his unwearied research, acute analysis, and historical exactitude. In "Caledonia Romana" Robert Stuart has illustrated his important subject by the fruits of diligent observation.

The history of Scottish pagan worship is expounded by Dr John Smith; of the Culdees by Dr John Jamieson; of the Reformation by Dr George Cook; and of the Scottish Church both by Dr Cook and by Dr William Hetherington. One of the most erudite of recent Scottish writers, Principal John Lee has, in his "Lectures on Church History," illustrated with an exhaustive fulness some important points in ecclesiastical annals. A most accomplished antiquary and of various labours, Dr David Laing has as the editor of numerous works, including those of John Knox, rendered to the cause of the national history most invaluable service. In his "History of Scottish Poetry" and similar works, Dr David Irving has evinced a lettered industry. Scottish antiquarian learning is admirably represented in the works and dissertations of Sir James Young Simpson, Patrick

Chalmers, Alexander Henry Rhind, Andrew Jervise, Dr John Alexander Smith, Dr Robert Angus Smith, James Drummond, and George Petrie. Henry (Lord) Cockburn will be remembered in the "Memorials of his Times," and Mrs Archibald Fletcher in her "Autobiography."

Of living historical writers, natives of Scotland, several are entitled to special notice. In his two great works, "Prehistoric Man" and the "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland," Dr Daniel Wilson has combined a wide literary research with ripe scientific knowledge. In his "Celtic Scotland," Dr William Forbes Skene is admirably exhaustive. As the result of earnest and careful inquiry Dr James A. Wylie has produced a "History of the Papacy," and other historical memoirs. And among other skilful writers on the ecclesiastical history of the country are specially to be remarked Dr Thomas M'Lauchlan, Professor George Grub, and Dr John Cunningham. "The History of the Scottish Coinage" is presented in the splendid quartos of Dr Robert William Cochran-Patrick. As a judicious and learned editor, Joseph Stevenson occupies a foremost place. Eminent as an essayist and as the biographer of Milton, Professor David Masson has, as editor of "The Register of the Privy Council," exhibited much accurate knowledge and a sound discernment. In connection with the duties of his office in the General Register House,

as chief of the historical department, and superintendent of Record publications, Thomas Dickson has with much ability edited the "Lord High Treasurer's Accounts." With commendable care and judgment Dr George Burnett has edited the "Exchequer Rolls;" Joseph Bain the "Scottish Documents in the Public Record Office," and James Balfour Paul and John Maitland Thomson the "Register of the Great Seal." In their various writings, Dr Arthur Mitchell, Dr Joseph Anderson, Professor John Duns, and Dr Robert Munro exhibit the fruits of antiquarian learning.

Among recent writers on family history are to be honourably remembered the late Earl of Crawford, author of "The Lives of the Lindsays," and other historical works; also Mark Napier, author of the "Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose," and "of the Viscount Dundee." Genealogical research, which in the past is associated with the indefatigable labours of John Riddell, is admirably sustained in the splendid volumes, produced under the learned editorship of Dr William Fraser.

Among native miscellaneous writers, recent or living, may be denoted the more conspicuous only. Irrespective of their eminence as promoters of popular education, the brothers Dr William and Dr Robert Chambers are as essayists singularly entertaining. Edward Bannerman Ramsay, Dean of Edinburgh,

has, in his well-known "Reminiscences," vividly recalled the memory of comic scenes and of the elder humour. In his numerous writings George Gilfillan portrays with a vigorous fervour those who have been remarkable for their genius or conspicuous by their virtues. Vehement and thrilling, Dr John Brown has in his sketches stirred the chord of the higher sensibilities. A considerable dramatist, John Mackay Wilson lives in his "Tales of the Borders;" and two remarkable brothers, Alexander and John Bethune, in their tales and verses. As an expositor of popular science and a genial biographer, Professor George Wilson claims honourable commemoration. Sir Alexander Grant will live in his "History of the University of Edinburgh," also in his studies in classic and general literature. Illustrating the progress of the arts, Sir William Stirling Maxwell has reflected important light on historical bypaths. Dr Andrew K. H. Boyd is remarkable for his graceful delineations and gentle teaching.

Among recent poets several names are familiar. An elegant writer of prose fiction, Thomas Aird is as a poet remarkable for his vivid ideality. Humorous in prose, David Macbeth Moir is in verse serious and grave. As ballad-writers, William Motherwell and William Edmondstoune Aytoun are at once plaintive and patriotic. In genius, Robert Nicoll is vigorously fanciful; Alexander Smith,

affluent in imagery; David Gray, earnest and tender; and James Macfarlan ardent and contemplative. A nursling of the wilds, Henry Scott Riddell is majestic on the hill-side, and gleesome by the hearth. With his numbers James Ballantine associates gentle and salutary counsels; Principal John Campbell Shairp revels in the vernacular; and of a hearty and wholesome humour, George Outram and Lord Neaves are the veritable masters.

Among the living national poets, Dr Charles Mackay is the minstrel of progress. No inconsiderable lyrist, Professor John Stuart Blackie holds high rank as the translator of Æschylus and Homer. In his verses, Robert Buchanan is eminently melodious. Mrs Jane Cross Simpson and Mrs Isa Craig Knox evince a brilliant fancy. David Wingate cherishes the gentler sympathies. Sir Joseph Noel Paton is smooth and terse. Indulging a gentle sarcasm, Dr Walter Chalmers Smith is in the cause of morals vigorous and earnest. The poet of labour, Alexander Anderson is energetic, tender, and melodious. Minstrels of the hearth and of the nursery, Matthias Barr and James Smith evince a chaste and artless simplicity.

Not unworthy of commendation as song-writers are Thomas Carstairs Latto, Francis Bennoch, William Allan, Dr Douglas Maclagan, Dr James A. Sidey, and Alexander Logan. As lyrists the more notable are

Dr James Hedderwick, Marion Paul Aird, William M'Dowall, and George Stronach. In narrative and didactic verse the more conspicuous are the Marquis of Lorne, the Earl of Southesk, the Earl of Rosslyn, James G. Small, Henry B. Baildon, James H. Stoddart, Alexander G. Murdoch, and Professor John Veitch. As writers of dramatic verse, Professor John Nichol and Thomas P. Johnston are generally approved. And sacred melody is represented in the poems and graceful compositions of Dr Horatius Bonar, William T. M'Auslane, Thomas Dunlop, Dr John Anderson, and Andrew Young.

Among our recent writers of fiction, the best known are Leitch Ritchie and Major George Whyte-Melville—the latter a graceful poet; while of the living, the more popular are James Grant, George Cupples, Dr George MacDonald, Mrs Margaret Oliphant, William Black, and Henrietta Keddie, otherwise known as "Sarah Tytler." As vigorous illustrators of contemporary manners and social life, Annie S. Swan, Robina F. Hardy, and John Tod (John Strathesk) merit a high approval.

If in the Scottish Church a lack of offices of learned leisure long restrained theological progress, the drawback has ceased to be apparent. Eminent in Christian hermeneutics are Principal Daniel Dewar, Dr Andrew Thomson, Professor John Brown, Dr Alexander Simpson Patterson, Professor Stevenson

Macgill, Dr Ralph Wardlaw, Dr Robert Smith Candlish, and Dr William Lindsay Alexander. As a homiletical treasury may be grouped the religious writings of Dr James Hamilton, Dr John Cumming, Dr John Eadie, Dr Andrew Symington, Dr David King, Dr John Ross Macduff, and Dr Horatius Bonar. Professor William Cunningham and Professor Thomas Jackson Crawford exercise a vigorous logic. Dr Archibald Bennie, Dr William Arnot, and Dr Thomas Guthrie are descriptive and ornate. The forthgivings of strong conviction are to be remarked in the writings of Robert and James Haldane, Edward Irving, and Thomas Erskine. In the works of Dr Thomas Keith Scriptural prophecy finds a safe interpreter. In the discourses of Principal John Caird, Archbishop Tait, Dr John Park, Dr Robert Gordon, and Professor John Ker, pulpit oratory is effectively sustained.

Whence, it is next to be inquired, has the literary faculty among a formerly rude people been nurtured and maintained? Under the monks of Dunfermline, schools were, so early as 1173, established at Perth and Stirling, while in the same century others were planted at Aberdeen and Ayr. During the reign of David I. there were schools in Roxburghshire, promoted by the monks of Kelso. Of the Grammar School of St Andrews a rector is named in 1233, while in 1262 Master Thomas of Bennum is, in the chartulary of

Aberbrothock, described as rector of the schools at Aberdeen. In certain burghs, Grammar Schools were under the control of the corporation, but they were more commonly attached to the religious houses, and therefore under the government of the Church. At Aberdeen there was a mixed arrangement, for in 1418 the master of the burgh school, mentioned as "magister scholarum burgi de Aberdene," is described as having been nominated by the Provost and community, and inducted by the Chancellor of the diocese, who certified as to his qualities. From "the common gude of the towne" he received his salary.[1] As not infrequently occurs when there is co-ordinate jurisdiction, there arose a controversy as to the regulation of a burgh school between the civic and diocesan authority. For on the 19th June 1508 Mr Martin Rede, Chancellor of Glasgow, proceeded in his own name to induct John Rede into the office of master of the grammar schools of that city, reserving to himself the right of removing the schoolmaster at his pleasure. On the occasion attended Sir John Stewart of Minto, Provost of the city, and other burgesses, who claimed the privilege of appointing masters to the several schools in the the burgh. Ultimately the parties agreed to consult the letters of foundation, under which, about half a century before, the schools had been established.[2]

[1] "Sketches of Early Scotch History," by Cosmo Innes, pp. 255-6.

[2] Liber Protocollorum, Glasgow, i. 427; ii. 267.

At these schools instruction was communicated solely in Latin, children of tender years being addressed and expected to reply in that language. When in 1494 a priest of the diocese of Glasgow incautiously ventured to instruct some children in the vernacular, he was emphatically censured. But the Church might not restrain the progress of secular learning, for in 1496 an education act was passed by the Estates. By this act it was provided that, under a penalty of £20, "all barons and freeholders that are of substance put their eldest sonnes and aires to the schules fra thai be aucht or nyne yeires of age, and till remaine at the grammar schules quhill they be competentlie foundit, and have perfyte Latyne—and thairafter to remaine three years at the schules of art and jure, swa that they have understanding of the laws." In 1519 a Grammar School was established at Edinburgh, which was attached to the Abbey of Holyrood. And at the same period the Grammar School of Perth, taught by Andrew Simpson, a notable instructor and eminent grammarian, had an attendance of three hundred scholars, including the sons both of the nobility and burgesses.[1] The study of Greek was first introduced into Scotland in 1534, when Sir John Erskine of Dun brought to the Grammar School of Montrose as a teacher of

[1] Grant's Burgh Schools. Lond., 1876, i. 27.

that language Peter de Marsiliers, a learned Frenchman.

To the promoters of the Reformation the proper upbringing of the young was a chief concern. In the First Book of Discipline, drawn up in May 1560,[1] it is prescribed that "there should be a schoolmaster, able at least to teach the grammar and Latine tongue, in every parish where there is a town of any reputation, and in landward parishes, that the reader or minister take care of the youth of the parish, to instruct them in the rudiments, particularly in the catechism of Geneva." This regulation, confirmed by statute in 1567, was afterwards sanctioned by the Privy Council. From Windsor, on the 25th August 1626, Charles I. despatched to the archbishops and bishops a royal letter, commanding them "for the better civilising and removing of the Irish language and barbaritie out of the heigh landes," as well as generally for the instruction of children "in the knowledge of the treue religion," to aid

[1] On the 29th April 1560 the Privy Council appointed as commissioners to prepare a book on "the Policy and Discipline of the Kirk," these following, viz.:—Mr John Winram, sub-prior of St Andrews, Mr John Spottiswood, Mr John Willock, Mr John Douglas, rector of St Andrews, Mr John Rowe, and John Knox. As a result was produced the famous "Book of Discipline," which in August 1560 was submitted to Parliament, and generally approved. The proposal which it embraced of a Grammar School being planted in every notable town was agreed to.

in carrying out the provision for establishing "English schooles" in the several parishes. Charles also required that each parish minister should "catechise his parochiners in the groundes of religion."[1]

By an Act passed in 1621, colleges and schools were exempted from taxation, while in 1633 Parliament ratified a decree of the Privy Council, made in 1626, which provided that "every plough or husband-land, according to the worth," should be taxed for the support of parochial schools.

By the Convention of 1646, it was enacted that schools be established in parishes where they did not already exist, and that schoolmasters' salaries be paid, two-thirds by the landlords and one-third by tenants. At the Restoration these Acts were rescinded.

Subsequent to the Revolution occurred an important change. In 1693 education was entrusted to the guidance of the Church, and in 1696 schools were planted in every parish. From the period when, in the twelfth century, Burgh and Grammar Schools were originally devised, teachers, both lay and clerical, were imperfectly recompensed. And at the Reformation no absolute improvement ensued. George Buchanan, whose accomplishments as a classicist would have adorned a Roman age, and who abandoned the principalship of St Leonard's College to

[1] The Earl of Stirling's Register of Letters, 1884, vol. i. pp. 75-6.

become tutor to James VI., the infant sovereign, was unable out of his retiring allowance to make provision for the expenses of his funeral. His remains were accordingly interred by the Town Council of Edinburgh.[1]

Masters of Grammar Schools were, in the seventeenth century, most imperfectly sustained. In 1649, about four years after the endowment by Sir John Scot of the Professorship of Humanity in St Leonard's College, Patrick Robertson schoolmaster of St Andrews, complained to the Commission of the General Assembly that upon him had been inflicted a grievous wrong, inasmuch as the lately appointed Regent taught, "not only all the parts of grammar, but also the rudiments and elements." With the sanction of the founder of the chair, the complaint was admitted, and the Regent ordained to abandon giving instruction in the elements, under the forfeiture of one hundred marks, of which one-half should be paid to the complainer.[2] By the kirksession of Kinneff, in December 1677, it was ruled "that no person or persons presume to keip a scool

[1] In his testament-dative Buchanan is described as "a richt venerable man," and "preceptour to the kingis maiestie." But as an offset, his estate is reported as consisting only of "an hundreth poundis, due at the next Whitsunday terme of his pension derived from the lands of Crossraguell."

[2] Report of University Commissioners, pp. 207-211.

for the instruction of children except the publick scool, which is allowed by authority."[1] By the Act of 1696 the salaries of parochial teachers were made payable by the heritors—the minimum being fixed at one hundred marks, or £5, 11s. 1⅓d., and the maximum at two hundred marks, or £11, 2s. 2⅔d. A small dwelling was also provided, together with the exclusive right of imparting instruction within the parish, subject to the order of the Church. When, in 1721, a school was opened at Crathie, owing to the distance from the parish school at Braemar, the teacher was allowed by the kirksession, as salary, seven bolls of meal, to be paid in "haddishes and half-haddishes"—that is, in quantities such as the fourth and eighth of a peck. School fees in the eighteenth century, together with a small allowance at Candlemas, or the proceeds of the annual cock-fight, averaged yearly for each pupil about 6s. sterling. There was usually a small addition granted by the kirksession as a recompense for instructing poor scholars, also for discharging the duty of session-clerk. On the 5th January 1795, George Story, schoolmaster of Yetholm, received an augmentation to his salary as session-clerk, which raised the amount to 15s. a year.[2] Such, in 1849, was the salary of the session-clerk of Dunino, in Fife.

[1] Kinneff Parish Register.

[2] Yetholm Parish Register.

With the view of raising the status of parochial schoolmasters, a movement which commenced in 1784 was vigorously supported by Sir John Sinclair; it resulted in the statute of 1803, by which 300 and 400 marks were provided as minimum and maximum salaries. The maximum salary was subsequently increased to £34, 6s. 8d. By the Education Act of the 6th August 1872 it is provided that a School Board be elected in every parish, and that as property vested in such Board, the parochial school should henceforth be called the "Public School," —and be subject to the supervision of inspectors appointed by the General Board of Education. To local Boards were granted the privilege of imposing school rates; also the power of removing teachers and granting them retiring allowances, and of fixing salaries and school fees. Parents were charged with the duty of providing education for their children, between the ages of five and thirteen, in reading, writing, and arithmetic; and, in the event of their inability, the obligation was imposed upon the Boards. The present maximum salary of public schoolmasters is £75.

For behoof of parochial schoolmasters in the counties of Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen there became available in 1833 the sum of £113,147, 4s. 7d., afterwards increased to £122,000, the bequest of James Dick, of Finsbury Square, London, a native of Forres.

Of this fund the annual proceeds, averaging £4000, are, under the administration of the Keeper and other Commissioners of the Signet, distributed among the recipients in portions varying according to educational acquirement and personal service.

In the preamble of the School Act of 1567 it is provided that "youth be instructed in gude manners;" and among the injunctions issued by the Privy Council in 1616 it is specified that every child be educated in "religion and secular learning;" also "in civility." When the kirksession of Dundonald determined, in 1640, to erect a parish school, they resolved that the schoolmaster be enjoined to teach his scholars "how to carry themselves fashionably towards all;" also "the form of courtesy to be used towards himself in the school, their parents at home, and gentlemen, eldermen, and others of honest fashion abroad." It was also ruled that the teacher "sould put in their mouths styles of compillation suited to ilk anis place to whom they speak, and how to compose their countenance, hands, and feet when they speak to them, or they to them. And that they be taught to abandon all uncivil gestures, as shaking of head and arms." On the 14th August 1643, the kirksession of Newbattle, at the instance of the minister, Mr Robert Leighton, afterwards the celebrated archbishop, condemned the conduct of parents in keeping their children from school, inasmuch "that it is not only ane

maine cause of their grosse rudeness and incivility, but of their ungodliness and ignorance of the principalls of religion." They ordained "that all parents send their children to school that they may at the least learn to read." [1]

On the 3rd February 1713, Mr Andrew Ure, the learned and energetic minister of Muthill, proceeded to guide his heritors and kirksession in the election of a parish schoolmaster, in succession to one who had been deprived for drunkenness. The minute of election proceeds thus: —

"This day the Heritors and Session mett in order to the election of a schoolmaster: And after prayer by the minister for direction of God in the mater, they took into consideration several inconveniencies they had lyen under in time bygone with respect to the school and schoolmasters, to the prejudice of learning and piety, and to the hindrance of the education of youth and thriving of the school of the parish: And some provisions with respect to succeeding schoolmasters being produced by the minister for remeed hereof, the same were read and considered and unanimously aproven by the meeting: And for making these provisions effectual in all time coming, they did further unanimously agree, that before intrants get the call of the parish to be schoolmasters therein, they shall be bound to consent to these provisions by a writt under their hands, bearing registration and containing the engadgment to fulfill them under the penalty of an hundred pounds Scots *toties quoties*, as they shall be found to fail in performing or making good all or any of these provisions, which penalty is to be lifted up by any person whom the Heritors and Session shall by a plurality of votes recommend for that effect; and in case of not payment, that he may use all legal diligence for

[1] Kirksession Register of Newbattle.

the same, and for that end he shall have the use of the foresaid obligatory paper, to be given up by the intrant schoolmaster, which is hereby ordered to be laid up in the box, and to be keeped there for the use of the parish, or to be registrat for conservation, if any heritor or elder shall judge the same to be necessary."

Of the several "provisions" referred to, the fourth is in these terms :

"That whereas the brewing or selling of ale at the school may have bad consequences to the prejudice of the school, therefore it is provided that no succeeding schoolmaster shall keep an exchange of any liquors to be spent in or about his house, seeing that the mortification of the school and schoolhouse is also expressly burdened with this provision or inhibition, and therefore they shall be bound not to brew any ale for sale, or to retail it there."

The parish schoolroom was formerly dingy and noisome. Resting on the edge of the parish burial-ground, exhalations from its soil polluted the apartment, which was low-roofed and without proper ventilation. When the schoolroom stood apart, its earthen floor, insufficient windows, and imperfect roof, admitted injurious draughts and fomented malaria. Fuel was provided at the cost of the pupils, each carrying to school portions of peat or coal or timber. Writing in 1830, Dr William Chambers remarks that he could then point out persons eminent at the Bar who, in their juvenile days, strung up peats with their books, and scudded with them to school.

In the arrangements connected with the school of Dundonald, made in 1640 by the kirksession, it was

stipulated that, with two hours of interval for breakfast and dinner, "the children should, from October till February, meet at sunrise and be dismissed at sunset," while during the remainder of the year the time of meeting should be seven morning, and of "skailing," or dispersing, at six evening. These rigid provisions, which existed elsewhere, and were continued throughout the eighteenth century, were accompanied with other conditions harsh and unreasonable. Learners were expected to master the Latin syntax from rules presented in the Latin tongue. And while thus school books were composed in a language unknown to beginners, few schoolmasters had yet attained the art of communicating knowledge otherwise than by force. To every pupil the teacher was consequently an object of actual terror; his passion was dreaded, and there was no confidence in his smiles. By wielding the rod mercilessly he maintained a detested pre-eminence. Claiming an abject submission to his authority, he repelled without reason, and enforced order without justice. Lord Cockburn, who entered the High School of Edinburgh in 1787, has recorded his sufferings at the hands of a scholastic tyrant. "Out of the whole four years of my attendance," he writes, "there were probably not ten days in which I was not flogged at least once." Alexander Smart the poet, who died in 1866, has in a poem satirized

one Norval, a teacher in Montrose, through whose brutality he had severely suffered. "The recollection of his monstrous cruelties—his cruel flagellations," he writes, "is still unaccountably depressing. One day of horrors I shall never cease to remember. Every Saturday he caused his pupils to repeat a prayer which he had composed for their use, and in hearing which he stood over each with a paper ruler, ready, in the event of omission of word or phrase, to strike down the unfortunate offender, who all the while drooped tremblingly before him. On one of these days of extorted prayer, I was found at fault with my grammar lesson, and the offence was deemed worthy of peculiar castigation. The school was dismissed at the usual time, but, along with a few other boys who were to become witnesses of my punishment and disgrace, I was detained in the classroom, and dragged to the presence of the tyrant. Despite of every effort, I resisted being bound to the bench and flogged after the fashion of the times. So the punishment was commuted into 'palmies.' Horrible commutation! Sixty lashes with leather thongs on my right hand, inflicted with all the severity of a tyrant's wrath, made me scream in the agony of desperation. My pitiless tormentor, unmoved by the sight of my hand sorely lacerated and swollen to twice its natural size, threatened to cut out my tongue if I continued to complain, and so

saying laid hold on a pair of scissors and inflicted a deep wound in my lip. The horrors of the day fortunately emancipated me from the further control of the despot."

The parochial authorities of Dundonald, enlightened on other points, were harsh in discipline. By their regulations the teacher was authorised to appoint "a clandestine censor" to report upon his comrades; while offenders, on his information, were with "wand or pair of taws to be chastised, some on the lufe, others on the hips."

In his "Memorabilia Domestica," Mr Donald Sage, minister of Resolis, depicts the state of school discipline in Sutherlandshire at the beginning of the century, in these terms:—

"Mr Macdonald, schoolmaster of Dornoch, was reputed as a scholar, and was at the same time a stern disciplinarian. Besides being an unmerciful applier of the rod, he instituted a system of disgrace. He who blundered at his lesson was ordered to the back seat, and there made to clap on his head on old ragged hat, the sight and the smell of which were no little punishment. The first who took this place was known as 'General Morgan.' If others were sent to keep him company, these were accommodated with head-pieces equally foul and repulsive. And the first of these was called General Prattler, the next Sergeant More, the next a fiddler, and who besides his headgear was furnished with an old broken wool card and a stick, wherewith to exercise his gifts. After teaching was concluded, these unfortunate fellows were ordered to stand out in the passage to go through their exercise, as it was called. This consisted in a dance or threesome reel between the dignitaries of the squad to the melody of him of the

wool card. After dancing with all their might for a short time front to front, they were ordered by the master, who acted as adjutant, 'to scrog and shift,' that is to shift sides, striking each other fiercely with their skull caps. The schoolmaster also used another mode of punishment, which was to sentence delinquents, if in summer, to weed his garden, or if in winter, to go to the woods in the neighbourhood to gather fuel for his dwelling."[1]

By the parish authorities of Dundonald the monitorial system was prescribed long before it had been formulated by Bell or Lancaster. At Dundonald it was ruled "that those who are further advanced reading Scottish, whether print or writ, each of them shall have the charge of a young scholar who shall sit beside him, whom he shall mak perfyte of his lesson against the tyme come he shall be called to say." The ordinary cost of education at a middle class school about the middle of the eighteenth century is set forth in the following letter addressed by the Lord President Forbes to his sister, the widow of David Ross of Kindeace:—[2]

"Edinburgh, 29th October 1741.

"My dear Grisey,—Upon my arrival here I informed myself of the state of the school of Dalkeith, and by what I hear am satisfied that it is in very good order, and that the boys are well taken care of. The whole expense for a year, including the master's

[1] "Memorabilia Domestica," 1694-1819, by the Rev. Donald Sage, of which the MS. is in possession of his son. Vol. i. pp. 370-1.

[2] For the use of MS. letters of the Lord President Forbes to his sister, Mrs Ross of Kindeace, we are indebted to one of that lady's descendants.

fees and cloaths, will not exceed £25. So that as soon as you find a proper occasion you may send Duncan up hither, and I shall take care to have him settled there. The distance from this is but four miles, and from Stony Hill little more than two, so that I may easily hear of him."

A century ago the children of the peasantry were rarely taught to write, nor could the humbler tenantry be induced to believe that the caligraphic art might prove useful to their daughters. But nearly every young person was instructed so as to be able to read the Scriptures, and commit to memory the Shorter Catechism.

From the period when were founded the universities of the Continent, opulent Scotsmen sent thither such of their sons as were intended for the Church. The Scots College at Paris, founded by the Bishop of Moray in 1325, made continental education more accessible. Within the kingdom higher education dates from May 1411, when, at the instance of Bishop Henry Wardlaw of St Andrews, the Papal sanction was obtained to the erection at that place of a Scottish university. Studying at Oxford, Wardlaw encountered a share of that dislike which Scotsmen then experienced at that seat of learning; he therefore determined to establish a university in his own country. In the bull complying with Wardlaw's request to establish a "studium generale" at St Andrews, the anti-pope, Benedict XIII., remarks that he had on inquiry become satisfied that the place was suit-

able for the purpose, owing to its peaceful neighbourhood, the fertility of the soil, and the number and superiority of the dwellings. Those who joined Wardlaw in starting the institution delivered lectures, while, under the auspices of James I., learned persons from abroad evinced in the concern an active interest. At St Andrews three colleges were afterwards reared. The College of St Salvator was established in 1435, and of St Leonard in 1512; and these were, in 1748, united by parliamentary sanction. St Mary's, or the "New College," appropriated to the special study of theology, was founded in 1537. These three several colleges unite in forming the existing university.

At the instance of Bishop William Turnbull, and under the favour of James II., Pope Nicholas V. founded the University of Glasgow, conferring upon it, by a bull dated 7th January 1451, the faculty of conferring degrees, along with all liberties, immunities, and honours enjoyed by the masters, doctors, and students of his own university of Bologna. Prior to the Reformation, and subsequently, the institution fell into decay, but in 1577 the Regent Morton granted a new erection, which was confirmed by Parliament. The revival was actually due to the celebrated Andrew Melville, who in 1574 was by the General Assembly appointed to the office of Principal. During the Civil War the University of Glasgow was a place of literary refuge to the sons of non-conform-

ing clergymen and others, for whom in the universities of the south there was no existing toleration. The structure of the College in High Street, which was built in 1656, accommodated both professors and students; it was latterly used as class-rooms. In 1864 it was sold to a railway company for £100,000, and this sum, largely increased by private contributions, was expended in constructing on Gilmore Hill the present handsome and commodious buildings.

Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen, having obtained through James IV. the Papal sanction for the erection of a university at his episcopal seat, proceeded in 1494 to rear a suitable structure. Named by the founder "King's College," it was completed by his successor, Bishop Gavin Dunbar. "Purged" in 1569 by order of the Regent Murray, the reforming arrangements were carried out by Sir John Erskine of Dun, under the sanction of the General Assembly. Alexander Arbuthnot was appointed to the Principalship, and by his agreeable manners and correct scholarship, proved eminently efficient. Introducing the study of Greek, he confined each teacher to a single department of study, an arrangement which, temporarily suspended, became on its revival a prominent feature of the Scottish system. In 1593 George Keith, Earl Marischal, founded, in the new town of Aberdeen, the structure of Marischal College, and under the chancellorship of the accomplished

Bishop Patrick Forbes (consecrated in 1618), both this institution and King's College considerably flourished. A union of the institutions, ordered by Charles I. in 1641, was subsequently revoked, the colleges remaining apart till our own times. In 1860 they were by legislative Act permanently united as the "University of Aberdeen." Prior to 1643 the regents and masters of the Aberdeen Colleges voluntarily practised celibacy, but in that year the sub-principal, Alexander Middleton, entered into matrimony, an example through which the practice was changed.

The original members of the Universities of St Andrews, Glasgow, and King's College being beneficed clergymen, were, in order to their discharging the academic function, exempted from residence at their cures. And each collegiate institution was held competent to maintain on its staff a stated number of masters, regents, chaplains or vicars-pensionary, together with certain "pauperes clerici," or poor scholars, the last being candidates for the priesthood. Equally with the masters and regents, the scholars were accommodated and provided for within the walls. In drawing the statutes of St Leonard's College in 1512, Prior Hepburn of St Andrews stipulated that the poor scholars should have their "flesh days," or days of butcher meat; he on the other hand provided that each scholar should in turn make the

house clean, wait at table, and perform other household duties. In a "visitation" of St Salvator's College, dated 15th September 1563, the visitors represented to the Principal, that as the poor students received on fish days "only one egg and one herring," the quantity of victuals should be augmented, care being taken that neither in quantity nor quality their portions were inferior to those of poor students in other colleges. Prior to the Reformation, and subsequent to that event, college students, candidates for the ministerial office, subsisted for a part of the year by public begging. In October 1578, when a Parliamentary Act was passed for repressing vagrants and minstrels, there were included in the number "vagabond scholars of the Universities of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, who were not licensed to ask alms by the Rector and Dean of Facultie."

When prosecuting his studies for the clerical office, the father of the present writer was, during four sessions subsequent to November 1781, privileged as a foundation-bursar to reside within the walls of St Salvator's College. Entitled to free board and lodging the foundationers were meanly housed. Two were lodged in one apartment, which, with a low ceiling, measured in length and breadth about nine or ten feet. The means of ventilation were imperfect; and the use of fuel was restricted, since, owing to inartistic construction, the chimneys did not

readily discharge the smoke. Each foundationer breakfasted on half an oaten loaf, with half a chopin of mild ale. The evening diet was not more sumptuous. Dinner was served in the Common Hall, an underground apartment with a cob-webbed ceiling and damp earthen floor. On four days of the week dinner consisted of broth, coarse flesh, and oaten cakes. During the remaining days the fare was of fresh or dried fish or poached eggs. No female servants were employed, save a laundress, who was not eligible for office till after the age of fifty. Domestic affairs were regulated by the "provisor" or purveyor and by the "œconomus" or steward, also by the cook and his assistant. Bursars ceased to be entertained within the walls of the Universities about the close of the eighteenth century.

In the First Book of Discipline, presented to Parliament in 1560, the Reformers set forth the desirableness of "doting" or endowing the Universities of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen with the revenues of bishoprics and of collegiate churches, and proposed that every Professor of Divinity should receive a salary of £200, and each Professor of Medicine or Law a salary of £133, 6s. 8d., Scots. Fees they proposed should be dispensed with, except in the matters of matriculation and graduation. At matriculation an earl's son was to pay three marks, also three at graduation, while on these

occasions were to be paid by the sons of barons twenty shillings, by "a substantious gentleman's son" one mark, by the son of a burgess two shillings, and by all others five shillings. These liberal provisions were unhappily impeded through the avarice of the nobility.

In regulating the course of study at the Universities no obstacles were experienced. Hence the Reformers ruled that when a youth had studied grammar three or four years, and logic, rhetoric, and Greek four years more, he might enter the University. But, before admitting to their prelections, masters of colleges required to be satisfied regarding every candidate, that he possessed the needful docility or aptitude, and was skilled in dialectics, mathematics, and physics. At the University three years' study was deemed sufficient for attaining a degree in arts; while, from the time of laureation, five years further study was held essential in order to duly qualify for one of the liberal professions.

At Edinburgh, in 1447, James I. founded, on the south side of the Grassmarket, the Greyfriars Monastery, which at his instance was planted with learned persons from Cologne, who gave instruction in theology and ethics. Prior to its dissolution in 1559 Robert Reid, successively Abbot of Kinloss and Bishop of Orkney, also President of the Court of Session, conceived the idea of instituting in the

capital an ecclesiastical corporation devoted to instruction in philosophy and the arts. For this purpose he, at his death in 1558, was found to have bequeathed to the Magistrates and Council of the city the sum of 8000 marks. But when, in 1580, the civic authorities obtained delivery, the bequest had become diminished by one-half; the balance was also misapplied. By a charter, dated 14th April 1582, James VI. followed up Bishop Reid's intention by founding at Edinburgh a college to bear his own name, and endowed it with the lands, rents, buildings, churches, and chapels belonging to the monasteries of the Black and Grey Friars, and to other religious orders, although the donor was not unaware that these had been otherwise appropriated. With such funds as were actually forthcoming the Town Council employed, as Regent or Professor, Robert Rollock of St Salvator's College, who by his learning cast a lustre upon the foundation. In 1586 Rollock was advanced to the office of Principal, while professorships were conferred upon several persons who had become distinguished in a "disputation" or competition. To each new Chair was attached a salary of one hundred pounds.

With the new University it was arranged as part of the constitution, that "burgesses' bairns" should receive free lodgings, "on thair setting up thair beds, buirdis, and shelffis upon thair awin proper chairgis."

Those who had no claim as sons of burgesses were placed in chambers "twa in ilk bed," on a payment of forty shillings each, it being understood that, "gif ane will haif ane bed to himselff, he pay four pund for his chalmer mail."

The establishment of a University in the capital gave an important impetus to the higher education. The control of the institution was vested in the Town Council, and it is somewhat remarkable to find that, of the thirty-three members on whom the patronage was devolved, no fewer than thirteen were unable to write their names. But the institution proved speedily effective, so much so that the sons of traders at Edinburgh became associated with offices implying the highest culture. John Preston, son of a baker in the city, became Lord President of the Court of Session, and Adam Newton, also the son of a baker, after serving as a Professor at Edinburgh and on the continent, became tutor to the Prince Henry and a knight. The son of another Edinburgh trader, William Cowper, was appointed Bishop of Galloway, and was known as an eloquent preacher.

The patronage of the University was retained by the Town Council for nearly three centuries. They claimed an administrative authority over the Senate, and the privilege of dispensing with any member of the staff without assigning a reason. These were unsatisfactory relations, nevertheless the

University secured from age to age, in its various faculties, teachers of the highest eminence. And while, a century ago, there was attached to the Principalship a salary of little more than one hundred pounds, the office was held by one so eminent as Dr William Robertson. In 1858 the College of Edinburgh was by legislative act placed on the same administrative basis as the other Scottish Universities. And since that period, upwards of £300,000 have been contributed for its general purposes.

On the 25th August 1626, Charles I. issued a royal warrant for erecting and endowing a college in "the chanonrie of Rosse" [Rosemarkie], the bishop of the diocese, Patrick Lindsay, being empowered to collect towards the endowment voluntary contributions.[1] The project failed.

A uniform course of study at the four Universities was in 1647-8 arranged by a Parliamentary Commission. In the educational curriculum at St Andrews, students of the first year were to be instructed in Greek and the elements of Hebrew, and in the fourth and last were to learn "some compend of anatomy." At Edinburgh, anatomy was prescribed for the third session. It was also stipulated that students of the several Universities should subscribe the National Covenant, also the Solemn League and Covenant.

[1] The Earl of Stirling's "Register of Royal Letters." Privately printed. Vol. i. p. 76.

By the Universities Act of 1858, the four Universities are governed by three several bodies—a General Council, a University Court, and the Senate. As its dignified officers each University has a Chancellor, who is chosen by the Council, a Rector chosen by the matriculated students, and the Principal, who is usually chosen as Vice-Chancellor. The Chancellor presides in the Council, the Rector in the University Court, and the Principal in the Senate. By the Universities are returned two members of Parliament, of whom one represents St Andrews and Edinburgh, the other Glasgow and Aberdeen. In connection with each University there are considerable endowments, which are applied in scholarships, fellowships, and bursaries, also in rewards or premiums. Apart from the ordinary degrees common to the several institutions, the University of St Andrews grants to women the degree of LL.A., the standard of attainment being the same as is required for the degree of Master of Arts. Less than half a century ago, University degrees, those in medicine excepted, were bestowed more in token of favour than in recognition of merit. In his "Book of Scotland," Dr William Chambers remarks that he had known of students who procured the degree of M.A. from the University of the capital, merely on asking for the privilege. Degrees in Arts are now only to be obtained after satisfying the requirements of a rigid and searching examination.

Till an advanced period of the eighteenth century, university lectures, and even conversations within the walls of colleges, were expressed in Latin. Professor William Brown, who occupied the Chair of Church History at St Andrews for some years prior to 1791, lectured in that tongue, and oral examinations in medical science were, in the University of Edinburgh, conducted in Latin long subsequently. One result of the practice was a formality of composition which for a course of centuries extended even to the family correspondence. As an example of this severe epistolary mode we are privileged to adduce an unpublished letter addressed by John Forbes of Culloden to his aunt, informing her of the death of her brother and his own father, the Lord President Forbes. Dated at Edinburgh, 10th December, 1747, the letter proceeds thus :—

"My Dr. Aunt,—Mellancholly must be the accounts which this will bring you, no less than the death of your worthy brother and my father, which happened this morning at eight o'clock, after an indisposition of above five weeks. That fatherly care with which he always cherished this poor country, his love of justice, and his general benevolence to mankind are the occasion of that general grieff which prevails for the loss of a life so truely valuable. And how much more those most be aflicted who were more clossely connected to him by tyes of blood, I need not suggest to you, as you must be a fellow sufferer, and will therefore more easily figure the distress of, Your affect. nephew and humble servt.,

"JOHN FORBES."

"To the Lady Kindeace, by Parkhill."[1]

[1] From the original in the possession of one of Mrs Ross's descendants.

The "Lady Kindeace" was simply the widowed Mrs Ross, whose husband was proprietor of Kindeace, but it consisted with the formality of the times that by her nephew as well as by others she should be styled by a territorial appellative. At the same period Dr Joseph Mackenzie of Edinburgh, whose wife was a daughter of Rose of Kilravock, when he informed her father that Mrs Mackenzie had given birth to a son, wrote thus:—"Edinburgh, April 20, 1747.—Dear Sir,—Yesterday your daughter brought you another grandson.—Dr. Sir, your affectionate humble servant."[1]

A ready command of books secures an academy in the chamber, a college at the hearth. In the monastery of Iona, St Columba and his followers committed to writing the evidences of their faith and the records of their experience; but their MSS. perished in the conflagrations which wrecked the institution, first in the eighth, afterwards in the ninth and eleventh centuries. Of Scottish calligraphy the earliest existing specimen is a Latin copy of St John's Gospel, with portions of the other evangelists, which belonged to the Abbey of Deer; it is of the ninth century.[2] Not improbably it was a copy of the "book of the gospels" that was treasured by Queen

[1] "A Genealogical Deduction of the Family of Rose of Kilravock." Spalding Club, 1848.

[2] "The Book of Deer." Edin., 1869, Spalding Club. Preface by John Stuart, LL.D., p. 6.

Margaret, who had it bound in gold and precious stones, and ornamented with painted figures of the evangelists : also with gilded capitals.[1]

The earliest official writing extant is a charter, preserved in the treasury of Durham, which by Duncan II. was, in 1094-5, granted to the Monks of St Cuthbert. About the year 1152 St Serf's Inch, or the Culdean monastery of Lochleven, was surrendered by the canons regular to the Priory of St Andrews, and in the register of the latter is presented a list of books or MSS. recovered from the elder institution. These, seventeen in number, are thus enumerated, viz., a Pastoral ; a Gradual ; a Missal ; Origen ; the Sentences of the Abbot of Clairvaux (St Bernard) ; a treatise on the Sacraments ; a Lectionary ; the Acts of the Apostles ; the text of the Gospels ; Prosper ; the three books of Solomon ; Glosses on the Canticles ; a Vocabulary ; a collection of Sentences ; an exposition of Genesis ; a treatise on exceptions from ecclesiastical rules ; and a book entitled " Pars Bibliotheca."[2]

The earliest Scottish book collector, whose name is on record, is Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith. In his testament, dated 30th September 1390 and 19th September 1392, Sir James bequeaths to James, his son and heir, a copy of the Public Statutes, also

[1] Turgot's " Life of St Margaret, Queen of Scotland," translated by William Forbes-Leith, S.J., 1884, 4to, p. 66.

[2] Reg. of Priory of St Andrews, p. 43.

certain works in romance, and to his son John of Aberdour, his books in Grammar and on Logic.[1]

A catalogue of the books which, in 1432, were preserved in Glasgow Cathedral includes many volumes of theology, also of the philosophy of the schools, with a few classics.

To the older colleges libraries were not attached. The classics were not taught, and such instructions as were given in the canon law or in logic and philosophy served only to perplex and complicate. Less an ecclesiastic than a man of scholarly tastes, William Scheves, Archbishop of St Andrews from 1478 to 1498, devoted a portion of his revenues to acquiring learned works from the continent, and collected a considerable library. In Halyburton's "Ledger" he appears as having, in 1493, paid 500 crowns of gold for a consignment of books. Besides Halyburton, he had other persons abroad who catered for him in the book market. Two books which belonged to him are preserved in the University Library of Edinburgh; his general collection was bestowed on St Salvator's College.[2]

Scottish physicians and surgeons early cultivated learning. To a physician at Aberdeen was sent from

[1] "Sketches of Early Scotch History," by Cosmo Innes. Edin., 1860, 8vo, pp. 332, 333.

[2] Innes' "Sketches of Early Scotch History," p. 339; "History of the Chapel Royal of Stirling." Edin., 1882, p. 22.

Middleburgh, some time prior to the year 1506, "a kist of buikis," and in July of the preceding year "the surreganis and barbouris" of Edinburgh consented, in their charter of incorporation, that each one placed upon their roll should "baith wryte and read." When in 1544 the Palace of Holyrood was by the English invaders sacked and burned, books accumulated by James V. and his predecessors were destroyed. The loss was repaired by Queen Mary, who, with the aid of Buchanan, formed a royal library. It consisted of about 250 volumes, and these were catalogued under the three divisions of Greek and Latin and the Modern Languages. The Latin department included the more noted classics, also works in theology. In Italian were the works of Petrarch, Boccacio, and Ariosto, and in French the chronicles of Froissart. And when, in 1566, in prospect of her *accouchement*, she caused to be prepared testamentary inventories of her various effects, she with her own hand made provision that her works in Greek and Latin should be conveyed to the University of St Andrews, as the commencement of a library, and that the remainder of her library should be bestowed upon Mary Beaton, her friend and attendant.[1] The Earl of Bothwell, so unhappily

[1] The bequest is in French, and the words are as follow :—"Ie laysse mes liuures qui y sont, ceulx en Grec ou Latin a luniuersite de Sintandre pour y commancer une bible [bibliothèque] : les aultres je les laysse a Beton.

associated with Queen Mary, cherished a taste for and was fastidious in bookbinding. In March 1578, when the Earl of Morton conveyed to James VI. the royal library then deposited in Edinburgh Castle, the collection was found to embrace only 150 volumes, the others having been plundered.

In 1475, John Laing, Bishop of Glasgow, presented to the Pædagogium of that city a large parchment volume containing the works of Aristotle, also another in paper, consisting of Commentaries or Questions on Aristotle. Subsequent to the Reformation, Andrew Hay, minister at Renfrew, and rector of the University, laid the foundation of a Protestant library by the gift of Castalio's Latin version of the Scriptures. Works chiefly in the Greek classics were added by George Buchanan. To the fund which, in 1639, was being raised for a library-room, Charles I. contributed £200 sterling. The entry in the subscription book is in the king's own hand, and a note is added—"This soume was payed by the Lord Protector, an. 1654."

The nucleus of a library, which became associated two years later with the University of Edinburgh, was in 1580 founded by Clement Little, one of the commissaries of Lothian. The University Library of St Andrews, established by James VI. in 1612, received considerable accessions from the three colleges of which the University is composed.

About the year 1680, Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, the King's advocate, proposed to the Faculty of Advocates the founding of a library. At that time, there were heavy arrears of entry-money due by advocates. These arrears Mackenzie determined to recover, and devised a plan by which the money was to be spent in acquiring works on law. By the Town Council the scheme was regarded with disfavour; and thus nothing practical was accomplished till January 1682, when Mackenzie was chosen Dean of Faculty. Henceforth he was the life and soul of the library movement. A house for accommodating the books was leased for nineteen years, at a rent of £20. The judges passed an Act under which any advocate failing to pay arrears of entry-money might be extruded from his order; and the treasurer was directed to buy "all the Scottish Practicks, as also the Scottish historians." Mackenzie was specially thanked for his exertions; and one of the last acts of his public life was to deliver an address on the opening of the library.

At his death in 1684 the pious Dr Robert Leighton, latterly Archbishop of Glasgow, bequeathed his library for the use of the clergy of his former diocese of Dunblane. The books are preserved at Dunblane, but the utility of the bequest has not been commensurate with the testator's hopes.

By the Scottish Presbyterian Church no decided

effort was made in establishing libraries till the beginning of the eighteenth century. The General Assembly of 1704 approved "a project set on foot by some piously inclined persons in this and the neighbouring nation of England for erecting libraries in the Highlands." They further ordered "a letter of thanks to be written to the Society in England for Propagating Knowledge, and to others who had given assistance." They also empowered "their Commission to apply to the Lords of the Privy Council or Treasury for assistance in order to bring down the books from England." This movement was actively followed up. Seventy-seven libraries were planted in the Highlands, of which nineteen were Presbyterial and fifty-eight parochial. Further grants of books were received from England in 1706, which were distributed by the General Assembly. The General Assembly of 1709 recommended that a library should be planted at every Presbytery seat. The importance of educating the people by the circulation of books aroused the energies of some of the rural clergy. Among these was Mr Andrew Ure, minister at Muckhart, afterwards of Fossoway. From the kirksession minutes of the parish of Muckhart we obtain the following :—

"At the Manse of Muckhart, December 17, 1708.—The minister proposed an overture, viz., that for encouraging the ministers of this parish, and all other persons in the place piously inclined and desirous to follow learning, there might be a publick library erected in this parish, which he believed severals will be very

willing to contribute unto. And that, for encouraging the said good design, the present and every succeeding minister here should, at admission or ordination, contribute the sum of twenty shillings sterling in money or books to the said library *ad minimum*. And that every heritor who is willing to contribute thereunto, shall at least give in five shillings sterling in money or books. And that the present and every succeeding schoolmaster at his entrie here shall contribute at least ten shillings thereto. And that every other person that inclines to contribute and have priveledge of the said library, shall at the least contribute two shillings and sixpence thereto. And, further, it was overtured that for promoting the same design in time coming, that when the school money falls vaccant, the first year's vaccant rents thereof may be employed for augmenting the library, and all rents belonging to the school that shall be vaccant in time coming (after the said year's vaccancie is imployed for the use foresaid), shall accresce and redound to the school itself, and be annexed for the augmentation of the money belonging thereunto."

Thereafter, in the minute-book, follow twenty-one rules for "the preservation and propagation of the library."

The Parish Library of Muckhart, established with such careful formality, was a matter of vigorous intention rather than of actual accomplishment. The founder was in 1717 translated to the parish of Fossoway, and with that event the enterprise collapsed.[1]

[1] It is not without interest to remark that the ingenious founder of the Muckhart Library did not pass from the subsequent scene of his pastoral labours without commemoration. In the Fossoway Register of Deaths one page, with a black border, contains a memorial of Mr Andrew Ure in the following elegy:—

Omne movit urna nomen
Pastor, quem diligit Deus moritur,
Magister Andreas Ure, ecclesiae quae est

For our own times an important question remains to be determined, whether a Scottish national library may be secured. An effort made by the present writer to provide a collection of Scottish books in the library of the British Museum has very partially availed. Though it had been otherwise, the circumstance would not affect the necessity for forming in the country a similar collection. Nor ought a Scottish national library to exist only for the reception of a native literature. An adequate supply of foreign works should be made available to students both in the north and south. In his autobiography the late Sir Archibald Alison remarks that as there were no public libraries in Scotland containing the works which he required to consult in preparing his "History of Europe," and he had no leisure to go to London, he was under the necessity of purchasing all the books himself, at a cost of not less than £5000.[1] Had the historian's finances been

Fossovii et Tullibolii per annos quinque et viginti
Pastor vigilantissimus, doctissimus, septimo idus
Apriles Æræ Christianæ millesimo septingentesimo
Quadragesimo secundo, pie ac placide diem obiit supremum.

Ac magnum sui desiderium apud omnes bonos, reliquit. Quem omnes pietatis exemplum, pacis angelum, sapientiæ oraculum, gravitatis imaginem, et schismatis hostem acerrimum agnoverunt. Nulli secundus forsitan et multis anteferendus. Quippe qui schismaticorum livorem, immanitatem, rabiem et feritatem, patientia, charitate, precibus et pietate, tulit, sprevit et superavit. Hinc migrans, linquens, aureolam adeptus est.

[1] "Sir Archibald Alison's Life and Writings," vol. ii. p. 234.

of a restricted kind, the "History of Europe" had, from lack of a Scottish national library, not been written.

The Advocates' Library is at present open to the general student. But this library, ample as are its stores, ranking in its number of volumes next to those of the Bodleian, is strictly a private institution, and it is within the power of the Faculty to withhold access to its shelves. Such a course would be fatal to the northern student. On the other hand, the Faculty of Advocates, it is understood, are not unwilling that their stores should, under proper provisions, be utilised as the nucleus of a national library. The actual offer of such a nucleus, embracing 270,000 printed books and 3000 MSS., together with a surrender to the national library of the privilege of obtaining a copy of every work published in the kingdom, would go far to render the movement a decided success. What is mainly lacking is a spacious and convenient structure in which the books might be deposited; such a building as would supersede the dingy corridors of the Parliament House, in which so many literary treasures are now most inadequately stored.

The first public library at Glasgow was established in 1791, and now the several libraries of that city possess an aggregate of nearly 300,000 volumes. The Mitchell Library, a private endowment, embraces,

with other important treasures, a collection of the various editions of the works of Robert Burns, and a nearly complete collection of works by the national poets.

The establishment of Free Libraries in the different towns has been retarded through unsatisfactory legislation, for the statutory assessment is made payable by tenants on all subjects alike, whether dwelling-houses or premises for business—a provision which, clearly unjust, has induced a general resistance to the adoption of the Act. When ratepayers are assessed on an equitable principle, such as that prescribed by the Education Act, Free Libraries will probably obtain a footing in every considerable town, and with great benefit to the inhabitants. Meanwhile, the erection of the structure of a Free Library at Dunfermline by a prosperous native of the place, may stimulate other persons of wealth to aid in establishing libraries in their respective localities.

To the enterprise of private associations for editing and printing works of an antiquarian and historical character Scotsmen are especially indebted. At a dinner of the Society of Antiquaries, held in the Mitre Tavern, Fleet Street, London, in 1786, David Stewart, sixth Earl of Buchan, suggested a "Novum Organum Literarium," or general literary alliance, for printing rare and precious MSS. on international history. Besides chartularies and other

ancient registers his lordship hoped that the historical treasures of the Vatican would be made available, while he maintained that owners of family MSS. might grant to a public body a privilege of search which they would deny to individuals. The plan devised by Lord Buchan has practically been carried out. By authority of the Lords of the Treasury have been issued the Scottish Acts of Parliament, also the Retours of Special and General Services, and "Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts;" while in advanced progress are the proceedings of the Privy Council, the Exchequer Rolls, the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts, and the Register of the Great Seal, all in the General Register House; also a Calendar of documents relating to Scotland, preserved in the Public Record Office, London. Through the intervention of book clubs the more important MSS. contained in the Advocates' Library and in the keeping of private families have been printed under appropriate editorship. And what was commenced by the Bannatyne, Maitland, Abbotsford, and Spalding Clubs, has by the Grampian Club and the Burgh Record and Hunterian Book Societies been steadily followed up. The Scottish Early Text Society has commenced a promising career by printing suitable works under competent editors. What Lord Cockburn described as a "corporation spirit" will probably sustain to a natural

completion the operations of book-printing societies. But the means of securing books for general consultation may only be provided under a Parliamentary Act, and maintained by an adequate endowment.

Any narrative of the rise and progress of Scottish learning would be incomplete which did not allude more than incidentally to the sufferings attendant upon the literary profession. The earlier composers in the vernacular were the bards, and these subsisted by begging. The leading achievements of Wallace are chronicled by the minstrel Henry, who by vocation was a mendicant. George Buchanan, the most learned of all Scotsmen, and tutor of the first sovereign of Great Britain, was provided with means so slenderly that his funeral expenses were of necessity defrayed by the citizens of Edinburgh. On his accession to the English throne, James VI., being invited to aid in his old age John Stow, the famous chronicler, proposed to grant him a license to beg!

No greater indifference to the wants of men of genius and learning prevailed in remote than in recent times. Michael Bruce, the gifted poet, died in his father's cottage, without money, and almost friendless. On the straw-covered floor of an Edinburgh workhouse Robert Fergusson breathed out his spirit. In the delirium of approaching death Robert Burns was haunted by the dread that a merciless draper would fulfil his threat and consign him to a debtor's

prison. After following for some years the business of an author, Allan Cunningham was for a time necessitated to stoop to the irksome office of a London paviour. To the use of the awl, after he had abandoned it for forty years, was driven the poet and historian John Struthers, when bordering upon eighty. Struthers resided at Glasgow,—and in that city died, almost from actual want, William Glen, author of the plaintive song, "Wae's me for Prince Charlie;" Thomas Lyle, author of the song, "Kelvin Grove;" and that rarely gifted genius James Macfarlan. Thomas Campbell enjoyed a pension; it was subject to deductions, and the residue, when unaccompanied by the uncertain fruits of literary labour, was sufficient only to sustain a residence in unserved chambers. James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, and that other pastoral poet, Henry Scott Riddell, were both indebted to the liberality of the Duke of Buccleuch for the comforts of a home.

Owing to the greater utility of his labours, an accomplished prose writer has, more reason than the poet, to hope for adequate means of living in recompense of his art. But this reasonable expectation has not been justified. At the age of fifty Dr Tobias Smollett, novelist, historian, and miscellaneous writer, closed in indigence a life of penury. Robert Heron, historian, critic, and essayist, died at forty-three, of fever contracted in a debtors' prison. One of

the early editors of the "Encyclopedia Britannica," James Tytler, was while he laboured on that work unable to procure adequate clothing, and, his editorial labours completed, was through poverty driven from his country. When Sir David Brewster, after twenty years of diligent labour, completed the "Edinburgh Encyclopedia," he contemplated taking orders in the English Church as a means of support. The learned editor of the "Bibliotheca Britannica," Dr Robert Watt, was, in serving the literary world, compelled to sacrifice his substance. The historian, John Pinkerton, subsisted on a substantial patrimony; when it was all but exhausted, he vainly sought for a moderate provision. Those expert and indefatigable writers, Dr William Thomson, William Playfair, and Robert Mudie were in constant penury; Mudie produced ninety volumes, yet was often in actual want. In editing "The Scottish Nation," William Anderson prematurely exhausted his strength, yet was denied a pension. What the State in his old age denied to James Paterson, the antiquarian writer, was somewhat compensated by private aid, yet neglect and poverty embittered his latter years.

Scottish scientists have not been more successful than their literary compeers. The inventor of stereotyping, William Ged, sacrificed his means in prosecuting his art. Andrew Meikle, the inventor of the threshing machine, was, in his advanced years,

sustained by a subscription; Patrick Bell, inventor of the reaping machine, expatriated himself in quest of a livelihood, though he was more fortunate latterly; and Henry Bell, the inventor of steam navigation, was by an exclusive devotion to his enterprise rendered almost homeless. When in his eightieth year a vigorous effort was put forth to procure a state pension for the astronomer, Dr Thomas Dick, it was found that, for fifty years, he had subsisted on the simple fare of bread and milk. The botanical observer, John Duncan, was for several years a recipient of parochial relief. About four years ago the sister's son of Robert Burns, an octogenarian, was discovered in a Glasgow poorhouse, and means for his rescue were obtained with difficulty.

For those who maintain social order, whether under the mace, or by the sword, there are provided adequate emoluments with proportionate allowances in the case of infirmity or old age. Let us hope that when in the advance of legislative wisdom it is found that the effective application of intellectual gifts necessarily tends to repress crime and advance order, the votaries of literature, art, and science will receive from the public purse, not the dole of a scanty charity, but the ample recompense of a fully appreciated service.

CHAPTER XVII.

AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY CORRESPONDENCE.

Belonging to the same race of sturdy borderers which afterwards produced Thomas Carlyle, the illustrious essayist, Dr Alexander Carlyle was born on the 26th January 1722. Ordained minister of Inveresk at the age of twenty-six, he there ministered till his death, which took place on the 25th August 1805—his parochial incumbency extending to fifty-eight years. His career was singularly eventful. He witnessed the public execution at Edinburgh which led to the Porteous mob. In his youth he met at dinner the vacillating Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat. He saw Prince Charles Edward enter Edinburgh in September 1745, and from the church steeple at Prestonpans watched the progress of the battle which was there fought between the Prince and the royal troops under Sir John Cope. With the gallant Colonel Gardiner, who fell in the conflict, he dined on the day which preceded the engagement. Among those with whom in early life he was brought in contact was the Honourable James Erskine, Lord Grange. An heritor of Prestonpans parish, Lord Grange had brought

thither as its pastor Carlyle's father, who was previously minister of Cummertrees in his native Annandale. As a personal friend, Carlyle the elder was with Lord Grange frequently in the evenings, and they often remained together till late hours. Dr Carlyle believes that they were frequently occupied in prayer, or in settling points of Calvinistic doctrine, for Lord Grange was as remarkable for pious talk as he was notorious for social error. According to Dr Carlyle, he erred and repented by turns. For a season regular in attending religious ordinances, he for another would occupy his Sundays in intemperate pleasures. Days which he dedicated to prayer were followed by nights spent in debauchery. Partially insane he certainly was, but in a lesser degree than his wife, Rachel Cheislie, whom Dr Carlyle describes as in physique realising the notion which in early life he entertained respecting the aspects of the woman represented in Scripture as embodying the impurities of Babylon.

Known to Robert Blair, author of "The Grave," Dr Carlyle enjoyed with John Home, his successor at Athelstaneford, a life-long intimacy. With several reverend brethren he was subjected to censure for being present at a theatre in 1756, when Mr Home's tragedy of "Douglas" was for the first time acted. He attained considerable privileges and honours. In 1762 he was appointed almoner to the King, in 1770 was

elected Moderator of the General Assembly, and in 1785 was nominated one of the Deans of the Chapel Royal. Devoted to the interests of his order, he procured for his brethren an exemption from the window tax. Collins's "Ode on the Superstitions of the Highlands," long lost, was through his instrumentality recovered. Possessing a lofty mien and an urbane and gracious manner, he attracted some by his demeanour—others by his benevolence. A leader of the Moderate party, he exercised an important influence in ecclesiastical affairs. At an advanced age he prepared his autobiography,[1] but it was not printed till many years subsequent to his death. This did not embrace his correspondence, which, however, he had arranged with a view to publication. For this purpose it was entrusted by members of his family to his personal friend, Dr John Lee, latterly Principal of the University of Edinburgh. Dr Lee was one of the most learned persons of his time, but he lacked the virtue of application, and what he eagerly undertook and fully intended to carry out, he generally left untouched. At Dr Lee's death Dr Carlyle's correspondence was secured by the University of Edinburgh. The more interesting portions form the substance of the present chapter.

[1] "Autobiography of Dr Alexander Carlyle, minister of Inveresk," containing memorials of the men and events of his times. Edinburgh, 1860. 8vo.

One of Dr Carlyle's earliest friends was George Dempster, whom he had known in Edinburgh as an advocate. This somewhat remarkable individual was great-grandson of John Dempster, minister first at Brechin, afterwards at Monifieth, in the county of Forfar. His grandfather, a merchant and banker at Dundee, gave loans on mortgage, and by this method became owner of large estates. To these estates George succeeded early in life. Born in 1735, he passed advocate at twenty; and in his twenty-second year sat in the General Assembly as the representative of a burgh, though holding no office in the Church, and in reality a freethinker. In this Assembly, which met in May 1757, he took part in the discussion respecting the tragedy of "Douglas" and the supposed demerits of Dr Carlyle and others who had witnessed its representation. He seconded the proposal for an Act forbidding the clergy to countenance the drama. After spending some years in Edinburgh, he abandoned the life of a lawyer for that of a politician; and, after a contest attended by an expenditure of £10,000, he was in 1762 chosen Parliamentary representative of the Fife and Forfar burghs. In the same year was established at Edinburgh, by Dr Carlyle and Professor Adam Ferguson, the Poker Club, for stirring up popular sentiment in respect of the denial to Scotland of the privilege of embodying a militia. For, when in 1757 an Act was passed organising the

English militia, it was resolved not to extend the system to Scotland, on the plea that a people among whom had occurred two insurrections within a period of thirty years might not safely be entrusted with arms. In defence of the national claim, both Dr Carlyle and Professor Ferguson had issued pamphlets; while, on entering Parliament, Mr Dempster pledged himself to continue the agitation. As he remained silent, Mr Carlyle, about the year 1768, reminded him of a promise which apparently he had forgotten. To his remonstrance, Mr Dempster, in an undated letter, replied in these words :—

"Rev. Mr Alexander Carlisle,—I tell you, once for all, if you come across us politicians with letters of a dozen years old, and remind us of points to which we have pledged ourselves at that distance of time, you will be a most dangerous man to correspond with. However, since I have never once moved a question that I pledged myself to move every year, I am not much surprised at your being a little uneasy at the fate of that measure now that it has been moved. The history of the bill is shortly this: Robinson of the Treasury undertook to prepare it for Lord Mountstuart,[1] its mover. A Secretary of the Treasury is at all times busy; but we patriots alledge, and I hope you courtiers know, that he is remarkably busy in Parliament time. Much importunity it cost us to get it out of his fingers. A place of £500 a-year for life might have been had with more ease and less solicitation; and for a good reason, that he sometimes has a few of them to dispose of, but the other was not in existence. Lord Mountstuart moved for the bill, and in a very spirited manner. If there be a fair, honourable young man upon earth, I believe he is one, so far as I can judge, from comparing the intercourse I have had with him upon the

[1] Afterwards Marquess of Bute.

subject and that which I had with others, about the early period you allude to. He is going straitforward; they go round about. He thinks the influence the Scotch have in His Majesty's councils a favourable opportunity of doing service to Scotland; they thought that it might exert a jealousy against our country should any favourable disposition be shewn towards it. I offer this as a little apology for having forefeited my life to you concerning moving for a militia every year. Indeed, I had not been long in Parliament before I observed that to obtain a beneficial law, a member must have the patience of a fisher, and lie contentedly by the stream till the water be muddy and the day overcast. Now, if the water be not muddy enough I leave you to guess. Less, however, would have been insufficient to have ensured our sport, and I am now in hopes we shall haul out 6000 militiamen at one throw of the line by a very inexperienced fisher."

The augury failed, since the Militia Acts were not extended to Scotland till 1793, nine years after the Poker Club had ceased to agitate or even exist. Mr Dempster concludes his communication by a suggestion which shows that he had contemplated the extension of the franchise, long anterior to that period of attack upon the close system, which dates from the Irish Revolution. He proceeds :—

"When the Poker Club has effected its point as to a militia, may I beg they will turn their attention to the representation of Scotland, and urge its extension, so as to let the industrious farmers and manufacturers share at least in a privilege now engrossed by the great lords, the drunken laird, and the drunkener bailie."

Mr Dempster who had recognised the rising statesmanship of the first Marquess of Bute, also discovered early in his career the great capacity and

political aptitude of Henry Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville. Respecting him, he, on the 9th June 1766, communicated with Dr Carlyle in these terms :—

"Harry Dundas is a great acquisition as things now stand. You may judge of his performances, of the extent of his interest, and also of the high opinion entertained of his talents; and upon my word I think it is well founded. I never knew him till the last trip, and he appears to me to have an exceeding good capacity, and a very good heart."

When these words were written, Mr Dundas was only in his twenty-fifth year. In the same letter Mr Dempster facetiously proceeds :—

"I should like to see Alexander Carlisle, present minister of Inveresk, transported to the Tron. You don't know him, but I think he would make a very proper successor to poor Jardine. If you are not pre-engaged in favour of some friend whom you prefer to him, I wish you would use your endeavour to bring this point about. He likes society, and should be the very heart of Edinburgh."

Mr Dempster concludes :—

"Adieu, my dear Carlisle. Please remember me to Adam Ferguson."

The vacancy in the Tron Church, Edinburgh, to which Mr Dempster referred, was caused by the sudden death of the incumbent, Dr John Jardine, which took place on the 30th May, during a sitting of the General Assemby. Possessed of much vivacity and a brilliant humour, Dr Jardine was a cherished associate of that literary coterie to which Dr Carlyle

belonged. Dr Jardine's death, which occurred in his presence, deeply affected him; and he has in his "Autobiography"[1] detailed the circumstances which attended it. The successor of Dr Jardine was Dr John Drysdale, a warm upholder of the views of Principal Robertson, which his position as principal clerk of the General Assemby enabled him to subserve.

On Dr Drysdale's death, which took place on the 16th June 1788, Dr Carlyle was induced, in the interests of the Moderate party, to offer himself as a candidate for the clerkship. The election being regarded as a trial of strength between the two ecclesiastical parties, Mr Dalzel, professor of Greek at Edinburgh, was named by the other side. The rivals made a keen canvass. Nearly a year before the day of election Dr Carlyle had communicated with Mr Dempster in the hope that he would secure election by a burgh as a member of the House. To his letter Mr Dempster, on the 20th July 1788, replied thus:—

"When I heard of your stepping forth as a candidate for the honourable ecclesiastical office of clerk to the General Assembly, I was much disposed to have given you all the opposition in my power, as I did to the American War, the farming of the public revenue, and the prosecution of our Eastern saviour, Mr Hastings; and that from the sincere affection and constant and unaltered respect I entertain for you. It is now twenty years since I found my opposition to any measure—one of the necessary accompany-

[1] "Autobiography," pp. 466-9.

ments of its success. This is true to a ridiculous degree. The approbation of the late peace and the Irish commercial propositions, both failed without another reason being pretended to be assigned for their miscarriage but that I had voted for them. . . . I shall do you the further mischief of bidding Forfar elect me a ruling elder, and witness your defeat. . . . I find the doctrine of Faith much more acceptable and popular than that of "Warks," under which description, perhaps, the good you have done to the Church may be classed, and in that case you will not be chosen clerk to the General Assembly. . . . Do you remember a little good wine you, Principal Robertson, and I drank out of pewter pots in Ross's Tavern one night?—There was something in that pewter that soldered friendship better than glass bottles. Mine has held very fast ever since, and will, I hope, for ever.

Mr Dempster's apprehension as to the failure of projects supported by himself proved true. At the General Assembly of 1789 the forces of the two competitors were marshalled under powerful leaders. Henry Dundas led on the part of Carlyle; and it was announced that he had obtained three votes in excess of his opponent, whereupon he took his seat at the clerk's table, and expressed his thanks for his election in a speech in which he referred to his having long sought to abate the progress of fanaticism. On a scrutiny it was found that he had not been chosen, a majority of legal votes having been recorded for Mr Dalzel.

Professor Adam Ferguson was one of Carlyle's most cherished friends. Two years younger, he survived Carlyle eleven years, and was privileged to

compose his epitaph. Writing of Professor Ferguson in 1813, Lord Cockburn remarks that he was "then in his ninetieth year, the most monumental of living men. A fine countenance, long milk-white hair, gray eyes, nearly sightless, and a bare, deep-gullied throat, gave him the appearance of an antique cast of this world; while an unclouded intellect and a strong spirit savoured powerfully of the next."[1] He died in 1816. Appointed in 1758 to the chair of natural philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, Professor Ferguson exchanged that office in 1766 for the chair of moral philosophy in the same institution. But the importance of securing to professorial chairs the highest ability and scholarship, by providing ample inducements, was not yet understood; and when, in 1773, Mr Ferguson was offered the office of travelling companion to a nephew of Lord Chesterfield, he readily accepted it. But his chair was kept open, the duties being for two sessions discharged by his eminent colleague, Professor Dugald Stewart.

Returning to London in 1775, Professor Ferguson addressed Dr Carlyle in a communication which proceeds thus:—

"Blackheath, 29*th April* 1775.

"My Dear Carlyle,—In answer to the two or three letters which you have written to me, I can give you five or six which I had written in my own mind to you before I had received any of yours. The first was from Geneva, where, having had the advan-

[1] "Journal of Henry Cockburn." Edin., 1874, vol. ii. p. 61.

tage of lodging in Calvin's own house, and having access to some of his most secret manuscripts, I thought myself without vanity qualified to give you some light into the more intricate recesses of our Church. My second was from Ferney, the seat of that renowned and pious apostle, Voltaire, who saluted me with a compliment on a gentleman of my family who had civilised the Russians. I owned this relation, and at this and every successive visit encouraged every attempt at conversation, even jokes against Moses, Adam, and Eve, and the rest of the prophets, till I began to be considered as a person who, though true to my own faith, had no ill humour to the freedom of fancy in others. As my own compliment had come all the way from Russia, I wished to know how some of my friends would fare, but I found the old man in a state of perfect indifference to all authors except two sorts—viz., those who wrote panegyrics, and those who wrote invectives on himself. There is a third kind whose names he has been used to repeat fifty or sixty years without knowing anything of them, such as Locke, Bayle, Newton, &c.—I forget his competitors for fame—of whom he is always either silent or speaks slightly. The fact is, that he reads little or none; his mind exists by reminiscence, and by doing over and over and over what it has been used to do—dictate tales, dissertations, and tragedies, in the latter with all his elegance, tho' not with his former force. His conversation is among the pleasantest I have met with; he lets you forget the superiority which the public opinion gives him, which is indeed greater than what we conceive in this island. But he is like to make me forget all the rest of my letters. The third was from the face of a snowy mountain in Savoye, higher than all the mountains of Scotland piled upon one another, and containing more eternal ice in its recesses than is to be found in all Scotland in the hardest winter. The bottom of this ice is continually melting in the valleys, like the bottom of a roll of butter placed on end in a frying pan. It is perpetually creeping down from the mountain, where fresh snows are continually falling. Masses come down from the mountains sometimes, and shake all the rocks with a force that nothing but an earthquake can imitate, and

drive the air out of the narrow valleys with the force of a hurricane that roots up trees on the opposite hills. I wrote you this letter in the full belief that you are a great natural philosopher, and disposed to believe every word I say. My fourth letter was written from the innermost parts of Switzerland on a Sunday afternoon, where I saw the Militia exercise. They have uniform clothes and accoutrements, all at their own expense, which is not a great hardship, for it is their only public burden. They appear to me to be a very effective military establishment; and as they were the only body of men I ever saw under arms on the true principle for which arms should be carried, I felt much secret emotion, and could have shed tears. But, to conclude, my fifth and last letter was from the neighbourhood of this place, where everything from a pair of snuffers to the Venus of Medicis, and the great Diana of the Ephesians is better provided than anywhere else; where every one is bussy enjoying, and no one thinks whence it came nor how it is to be kept. I thought to have finished all my letters here; but as a frank will carry another sheet, I shall take room at least to sign my name. As I have already written you five letters, and this new sheet may pass for another, you will please to observe that you are at least four letters in my debt. I am much obliged to you for your goodness to my wife and my bairns. If I live to return to them, we shall not part so easily again. You may believe I was much surprised at the attempt of the Town Council to shut the door against me; but am obliged to them for opening it again. I may be a great loser; but the end for which I am persecuted cannot be gained, while I have it in my option to return. I have been much obliged to the general voice that was raised in my favour, as well as to the ardent zeal of particular friends. Ilay Campbell[1] has given me proofs of friendship which I can never forget. Pulteney[2] has behaved to me in everything as he would have done at the beginning of the Poker Club. I

[1] Afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session.

[2] Sir William Pulteney, formerly Mr William Johnstone, advocate.

have always been an advocate for mankind, and am a more determined one than ever; the fools and knaves are no more than necessary to give others something to do. I saw John Home[1] in town yesterday morning; he goes on as usual. Macpherson is listening to the reports of his history.[2] I do not live among readers, and am really ignorant of the general verdict. I have been living here above three weeks. A charming villa in a magnificent scene; *sed quis me sistat gelidis in montibus Pentland;* and this I do not say on account of the hot weather, tho' it has been for three days the greatest I ever saw in this country.

"Remember my blessing to Mrs Carlyle and your young ones, of whose thriving state I am happy to hear. Tell Edgar[3] when you see him that I have lately had a letter from Clerk, and shall write to him—meaning Edgar—soon.—I am, dear Carlyle, yours affectionately, "ADAM FERGUSON."

Through the influence of Mr Dundas, Professor Ferguson was appointed secretary to the commissioners who were sent to America early in 1778 to negotiate an arrangement with the revolted colonies. The unsatisfactory result of that mission did not lead him to apprehend that the British authority would be permanently overthrown. The commissioners returned in December 1778, and in a letter dated London, 9th February 1779, the secretary communicated with Dr Carlyle in these words:—

"It is the fashion to say we have lost America; so I expect to hear that we have lost Scotland, but in that case I hope to be

[1] Author of the tragedy of "Douglas."

[2] James Macpherson, of Ossianic celebrity, issued in 1775 his "History of Great Britain," in two quarto volumes.

[3] James Edgar was Commissioner of Customs at Edinburgh. (See "Kay's Edinburgh Portraits," i. 385-8.)

reckoned, not among the losers, but the lost. I am in great hope nothing will be lost, not even the continent of North America. We have 1200 miles of territory, occupied by about 300,000 people, of which there are about 150,000, with Johnny Witherspoon[1] at their head, against us—and the rest for us. I am not sure that if proper measures were taken, but we should reduce Johnny Witherspoon to the small support of Franklin, Adams, and two or three more of the most abandoned villains in the world, but I tremble at the thought of their cunning and determination opposed to us."

Among the more remarkable of Dr Carlyle's correspondents was the notable John Wilkes, whose acquaintance he had formed when they studied together at the University of Leyden. In his "Autobiography" he refers to his acquaintance with Wilkes in these terms :—

"When we came to John Wilkes, whose ugly countenance in early youth was very striking, I asked (the introducer, Mr John Gregory) who he was. His answer was that he was the son of a London distiller or brewer, who wanted to be a fine gentleman and man of taste, which he could never be, for God and nature had been against him. I came to know Wilkes very well afterwards, and I found him to be a sprightly entertaining fellow—too much so for his years, as he was but eighteen, for even then he showed something of daring profligacy, for which he was afterwards notorious."

[1] Dr John Witherspoon, after ministering at Beith and latterly at Paisley, accepted in 1768 the office of Principal of Princeton College, New Jersey. When the dispute arose with Great Britain, he was elected one of the delegates to the Convention. He was afterwards a member of Congress. When minister of Paisley, he was a formidable opponent of Principal Robertson in the General Assembly.

Owing to his social qualities Wilkes secured the friendship of persons who reprehended his principles. Andrew Baxter, who met him at Utrecht, dedicated to him his "Appendix to the First Part of the Inquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul," and Dr Carlyle became his correspondent. Writing to Carlyle from Bath on the 26th May 1731, Professor Ferguson remarks :—

"Excuse my intimacy with Johny Wilkes. If you should be questioned about your correspondence with him, remember not that which goeth into the mouth defileth, but that which cometh out, so keep a good tounge in your own head and you need not care who writes to you."

With Dr John Douglas, latterly Bishop of Salisbury, Dr Carlyle maintained a close intimacy. Son of a small trader at Pittenweem, in Fife, he attained a prominent place both in letters and in the Church. By Dr Carlyle we are informed that he became acquainted with Dr Douglas during his visit to London in 1758.[1] A letter which in 1771 he received from the Bishop supplies some important particulars as to the mercantile value of works by contemporary writers. Dr Carlyle proceeds :—

"The Dr [Robertson] seems to be the only historian from Scotland who can treat successfully with our booksellers. Poor Dr Henry,[2] I believe, met with little or no encouragement from

[1] "Autobiography," p. 338.

[2] Dr Robert Henry, author of the "History of England," 1771-1786.

them, and Sir John Dalrymple, I understand, was offered £750 for his "Memoirs,"[1] but, as he demanded £1500, the work is now published on his own account. I think there were 500 copies of it sent up from Edinburgh, and in three or four days (for so long only has it been published), Cadell tells me they are almost all sold. I read great part of it in print several months ago, but though perhaps I have contributed towards the swelling of his table of *errata*, his eagerness to publish has brought it out with imperfections that nobody could correct. I mean he would not wait for the materials promised from the Secretary's office at Versailles; and he has not, it seems, been permitted by the fathers of the Scotch College to cite King James's Papers for many of the anecdotes which he has inserted in his book, and which, being very unfavourable to the Whigs of the last century, will probably expose him to the censures of those of the present time. . . . I find it very fashionable in Edinburgh to run down Sir John's performance by more than one letter I have lately seen. But I own I think there is great merit in some parts of the work, even as to the composition, though far from being free from affectation and singularity. As to the matter of it, surely there are many particulars which, if not absolutely new, were not generally known before; and, upon the whole, if it comes to a second edition, and he will take pains and regulate his veracity by the advice of his friends, it will be a very valuable morsel of history."

Early in 1773 Dr Joseph M'Cormick, Carlyle's clerical neighbour at Prestonpans, had ready for the press "The State Papers and Letters" of his grand-uncle, Principal Carstares. That the work might be introduced to the publishing trade in a manner advantageous to the editor, Carlyle invited Dr Douglas's interposition. In his reply, dated 20th March 1773, Dr Douglas writes thus:—

[1] "Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland," 3 vols. 4to.

"I gave them [Messrs Strahan and Cadell] my own opinion, that as Principal Carstares was intrusted with the most confidential affairs in the Scotch Department during the reign of King William, it was natural to suppose his Papers would throw much light on the history of that period, and that the public would have an eagerness to peruse the intended publication. I found them very much inclined to treat about the matter, but was told that they would first choose to have the MS. transmitted to London; and they desired me to say that if the Doctor would send it up to me, they would, if it answered their expectations, make proposals to which they hoped he would agree. . . . I told Strahan and Cadell that if a volume of a genuine cast was not worth £300, it was worth nothing; and, though I have no authority from them to make any offer, yet I should guess, from the whole of the conversation, that they may be brought to give this sum."

Dr M'Cormick's work was accepted, and in 1774 appeared in a quarto volume.

In a letter of the 20th March, Dr Douglas refers to various literary topics. He writes:—

"The success of Mr Home's play[1] has indeed been very great, but one would hardly suppose that they have forgot their animosity against Scotland who reads the loads of abuse, thrown every day for some time past, on the natives of this part of the island on account of Sir John Dalrymple's book, which has been the only topic of conversation ever since it appeared. The first edition of one thousand was sold off in a few days, and a second edition, which is already published, will, I make no doubt, be also soon disposed of."

In the same letter James Macpherson's recently

[1] Dr Douglas alludes to Home's Tragedy of Alonzo, which appeared in 1773.

issued translation of Homer is noticed in these terms :—

"I must do that justice to the public in general, to say that I do not observe there is any such prejudice against Mr Macpherson as he and some of his friends apprehended there would be on this occasion. I have met with some good judges who commend the translation much, but I have scarcely looked into it myself. Do you know that Macpherson is to turn historian? He has undertaken to write the History of England from the Revolution to the death of Queen Anne. I have not the least doubt he will succeed very well in this work of literature, and he has got some very valuable materials. Mr David Hume will not be sorry to have so able a continuator of his History."

Macpherson's translation of the Iliad did not prove a success. In attempting to render Homer's verse into prose after the manner of Ossian, he failed to grasp the meaning, and represent the spirit of the elder bard. He was twitted on his failure by Dr Johnson, who, in his celebrated letter to him, declared that his abilities since the appearance of his Homer had ceased to be "formidable." For his "History of Great Britain" he received £3000. Though condemned by Charles Fox, the work obtained high praise, and on account of its important revelations will continue to be read.

Shortly after the publication by Professor Adam Ferguson of his "History of the Roman Republic," Dr Douglas, on the 2nd November 1783, communicated with Dr Carlyle in these words—

"I always dreaded the want of a rapid sale for Dr Ferguson's

history, owing to the subject being destitute of novelty, and to his not having followed Mr Gibbon's plan of making the narrative only a retreat for attacking the religion of his country. Everybody who has read his book speaks well of it.

Dr Douglas, now Bishop of Carlisle and Dean of Windsor, was requested by Principal Robertson to interest himself with the booksellers on behalf of his friend Dr Somerville of Jedburgh, whose "History of Political Transactions" was now ready for the press. Writing to Dr Carlyle from Windsor Castle on the 4th April 1791, Dr Douglas proceeds :—

"I had a letter from Dr Robertson about Dr Somerville, but I was so ill at that time that I could not undertake to peruse any part of his MS. I understand, however, that he has sold his work to Cadell for £500, which is a great price."

Dr Somerville's work appeared in 1792 in a quarto volume.

From the Carlyle correspondence, supplemented by various documents which form a portion of the Laing MSS. in the University of Edinburgh, we become conversant with the personal history of the ingenious but unfortunate John Logan. Ordained minister of the second charge of South Leith in 1773, in his twenty-fifth year, he zealously applied himself to the duties of the pastoral office. His discourses, sound in doctrine, were pervaded by an earnest tone, and composed in a strain at once forcible and ornate. While yet under thirty, he was considered the most effective preacher in the Edinburgh literary circle,

which included such eminent names as Dr Robert Walker, Dr John Erskine, Dr Hugh Blair, and Principal Robertson. But Mr Logan enjoyed celebrity not more as a pulpit orator than as a man of superior culture. In 1779 he became a candidate for the chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, but in his canvass he began to surprise his friends by denouncing his opponents in irreverent and intemperate speeches. From the minister of Inveresk, to whom he had with strong invectives execrated Principal Robertson, he received a letter, dated 21st March 1779, in which occur these words :—

"You lately gave me a new view into your character which I am willing to ascribe to a temporary intoxication or phrenzy, as you said yourself, provided I never see any more of it. Don't suffer yourself to be heated in your clubs of rash and undiscerning young men, against a person who stands justly very high in the republic of letters. And pray don't, in apprehension of imaginary injuries, or even the feeling of real ones, suffer your candour to be so far extinguished as to turn the weaknesses and defects of a fellow-man into the atrocious vices of a devil."[1]

While uttering intemperate speeches towards those from whom he had experienced real or fancied wrong, Logan warmly cherished all who had extended to him an active friendship. Among his attached friends were Professor Ferguson and Dr Hugh Blair, both of whom, amidst his wayward speeches, continued to regard him with much affection. Recipro-

[1] This letter was by Logan's literary executor found in his repositories after his decease.

cating their kindness, he evinced his gratitude by a timely service. When Dr Ferguson had issued his "History of the Roman Republic," and Dr Blair was about to publish his "Lectures on Rhetoric," the rancorous Dr Gilbert Stuart held office as editor of the "English Review." In the interests of his two friends Mr Logan addressed a letter to Dr Stuart, which, though withheld at their request, strongly indicates the benevolence of his nature. The letter, which was found among Logan's papers, is in these terms :—

"Leith, *March* 8, 1783.

"Dear Sir,—The new *Review* published by Mr Murray hath not reached this place, so that it hath excited without gratifying our curiosity. I wish it success, as to every undertaking that tends to the progress and improvement of literature. This is the season when (if you will indulge me in a pun) the *leaf* begins to appear. Dr Ferguson's Roman History hath been advertised. The pomp and glitter, the point and antithesis, and all the tawdry and meretricious ornaments which mark and disgrace some popular historians, he avoids and disdains. He writes history with the simplicity and dignity of an old Roman. The public, however, will discover that his manly ease of writing is as different from the colloquial cant of such a vulgar scribbler as Henry,[1] as the robe of a rustic dictator is from the garb of an ordinary ploughman. Dr Blair's 'Lectures' are also to be published sometime

[1] Dr Robert Henry, the eminent author of the History of England. As one of the ministers of Edinburgh, he had given offence to Dr Gilbert Stuart in some of his several attempts at preferment, and was in consequence pursued by him with a malignant pertinacity which is without parallel in literary history. Logan's expressed approval of Dr Stuart's persecution of Dr Henry is much to be deplored.

in spring. I need not tell you that I am interested in the fate and fame of all his works. He hath, I confess, one deplorable fault. From inveterate and incurable habits he is too much connected with a literary impostor, whom you have completely stripped of his borrowed plumes, but at his time of life (the great climacteric) it is hardly worth while to change one's acquaintance. In every other respect he is very deservedly a favourite of the public. Beside his literary merit, he hath borne his faculties so meekly in every situation that he is entitled to favour as well as candour. He has never with pedantic authority opposed the cause of other authors, but on the contrary favoured almost every literary attempt; he has never studied to push himself immaturely into the notice of the world, but waited the call of the public for all his productions. And now when he retires from the republic of letters to the vale of ease, I cannot help wishing success to Fingal in the last of his efforts. In any work where you are concerned, if you happen to be employed by greater objects, I shall very gladly write any short article that you may have occasion for with regard to him. Your influence to give Dr Blair his last passport to the public will be most agreeable to your admirers, and will be a particular favour done to me. It will still enhance the obligation if you will write me such a letter as I can show to him to quiet his fears. Wishing success to your literary undertakings, I am ever, dear sir, your faithful humble servant,

"J. Logan."

In the spring of 1781 Mr Logan proceeded to London, intent on offering to the booksellers for publication a volume of poems. From London, in a letter dated 2nd April, he communicated with Dr Carlyle in these terms:—

"Dear Sir,—After a very fatiguing journey I arrived at London on Saturday night. I dined at Mr Strahan's[2] two days after.

[1] Mr William Strahan, the great printer, a native of Edinburgh and a generous patron of Scottish authors.

Mr Strahan is not only obliging, but partial to his countrymen. I find that he will not be adverse to publish the 'Poems.' I told him that in this affair I would be directed by persons of sense and taste, and that when I had them transcribed in a fair hand (as mine is not copperplate) I would show them to some friends. The best judges of poetry and the patrons of poets here are the women. Lady Frances Scott[1] was, I think, well pleased with some poems of mine, that she saw. If you could use the freedom to desire her to show the manuscript that I shall send her to any of her acquaintances remarkable for their taste, and show some patronage to a *wandering minstrel*, you would do me a very great favour. You may write to her that I am in great habits with Dr Smith.[2] If I can pay the expenses of my jaunt by this publication, I shall be very well pleased. I have been two or three times at the playhouse.—Dear sir, yours faithfully and affectionately, "J. Logan."

"*P.S.*—I beg that you will not let any person know my intention of publishing poems, as I do not wish anybody in Scotland to be acquainted with it till I advertise in the newspapers."

In an undated letter to Dr Carlyle, written from Richmond a few days later, Mr Logan has these words:—

"Thomson the poet used to pass a great part of the summer in this neighbourhood as long as Lord Chancellor Talbot was alive, who had a country seat within a quarter of a mile of Norbridge, now possessed by the Marchioness of Rockingham. I have never seen his ghost, but have often felt his gentle spirit in the nightingale's voice."

[1] Lady Frances Scott, afterwards Lady Douglas, sister of the Duke of Buccleuch, was much interested in literary concerns, and exercised a wide benevolence. Dr Carlyle was privileged with her friendship.

[2] Dr Adam Smith, author of "The Wealth of Nations."

In a letter dated 18th May, Mr Logan requested Dr Carlyle to procure further supply for his pulpit at South Leith, in order that his London visit might be prolonged; he remarks that the tragedy of "Douglas" was next day to be acted "for the benefit of Mr Crawford, who performed the part of Douglas." To Dr Carlyle he writes on the 24th May:—

"The east wind has blown here with a vengeance these three weeks, and has given me a sore throat and hoarseness. . . . I am in the press just now, and what between the printer's devil, and the demon of the east, I am in a most pitiable plight. . . . I gave my poems early to those gentry, but never could get them from their hands. But as they did not offer me such a price as I expected, I resolved to publish them at my own expense.[1] I saw 'Douglas' acted lately. Mrs Barry is divine;[2] her husband is a fool. The audience were all in tears. A young lady, very handsome, just beside me had very nearly cried me out of my senses, but luckily I was obliged to go away at the end of the tragedy."

In one of his letters, addressed to Dr Carlyle from London, Logan writes thus:—

[1] The volume, a thin duodecimo, appeared in 1781, under the title, "Poems by the Rev. Mr Logan, one of the ministers of Leith." London: Printed for T. Cadell in the Strand. Price 2s. 6d. A second edition was called for during the year of publication.

[2] Mrs Barry exerted her powers in impersonating Lady Randolph so successfully, that in his tragedy of Alonzo Mr Home who had, as he relates, composed the part of Ormisinda for her special acting, remarked—"She so much exalted the character that she exceeded all imagination, and reached the summit of perfection."—"Home's Life and Works." Edin., 1822.

"There are many reasons for a man taking a jaunt to London when he can afford it. The chief motive that impelled me was to get quit of some impressions arising from an incident in private life (which people conjecture but do not know), which had very nearly unhinged my mind altogether."

When some time in June Logan returned to Leith, he found that those formerly attached to his ministry were unwilling that he should resume the pastoral duties; for it was generally believed that, while he had formerly committed an indiscretion unbecoming his office, he had become amenable to another charge of a similar character. Retirement from the ministry became imperative, but his people, who deplored his waywardness, were willing that there should be settled upon him a portion of his stipend to secure him against actual want.

Had the means of estimating the condition of Logan's mind at this period and subsequently not been derivable from his letters, his memory would have been open to reproach. Happily for his fame, evidence is afforded, in missives which he despatched to Dr Carlyle and other friends, that his moral vision was, in consequence of cerebral disease, altogether obscured. Formerly zealous in the cause of liberty he became the advocate of arbitrary power. On the 12th April 1786 he wrote to Dr Carlyle in these words:—

"I now wish for absolute government in these kingdoms. We have had near a hundred years of liberty, which is more than

Greece or Rome experienced, and there is neither public nor private virtue in the country sufficient to sustain a free government."

Warmly attached to the Church of Scotland, he sought admission into the English establishment. On the 27th September 1787, in a letter to Dr Carlyle, he requests that he would recommend him for preferment to his friend, Bishop Douglas. "You know," he writes, "that you might expatiate at large on such a subject, about the benefit the Church would receive from having a man of learning and abilities among them, who could defend them against these heretical dogs, the dissenters." Though a firm believer in the Christian verities, and an eloquent expounder of the Gospel system, he accompanied his application for admission into the Anglican Church by expressions of coarse infidelity. In a future letter to Dr Carlyle he exhibits a degree of vanity which lunacy only would explain. The necessity of writing for daily subsistence, he remarked, had kept him "from studies of more general and permanent importance," which, he added, "is a great loss to the world, especially to posterity." And only a few weeks before these words were written he had, in August 1787, sold to Dr Rutherford, the master of an academy at Uxbridge, his "View of Ancient History," which, on a promised payment of £150, he allowed Rutherford to assume as his own compo-

sition. Indeed, so fully had he determined that Rutherford should be recognised as the actual author, that, writing to Dr Carlyle on the 20th August, he describes him as a clergyman from Scotland, who "is now publishing 'A View of Ancient History' by subscription;" then extolling Carlyle's benevolence, he desires him to interest the family of Buccleuch on the writer's behalf. "The work," he adds, "will be the best on the subject."

In a letter to Dr Carlyle in the autumn of 1787, Logan expresses himself as possessing from his literary earnings £300 a-year. This estimate of his resources was wholly delusive, for he only derived a small and precarious income by writing to the "English Review" and some other serials. The cerebral weakness under which he laboured was followed by a general debility. Frequently confined to his sick chamber, he was affectionately attended by his attached friend and fellow-countryman, Dr Donald Grant, minister of the Presbyterian Chapel in Fitzroy Square. To Dr Carlyle, on the 4th December 1788, Dr Grant wrote: "Your good friend is in the last stage of consumption, and is incapable of writing." In his next letter Dr Grant announces his death. Dated the 6th January 1788, the letter proceeds:—

"Your poor friend is now freed from all his troubles. He died on Sunday, 28th December, and was decently and genteelly

buried under my direction on Friday, 2nd January. . . . The only money he has left is £200 3 per cent. consols; I do not yet know the extent of his debts, but I fancy he does not owe much."

Dr Grant adds that he and the Rev. Thomas Robertson, minister of Dalmeny, were named as the executors.

In reference to Logan's affairs, including the disposal of his MSS., a correspondence between Dr Grant and Dr Carlyle was conducted at intervals during a period of about fifteen years. The reverend pretender at Uxbridge School published, as his own, Logan's "View of Ancient History," in two octavo volumes; he also paid the bill for £150, which he had granted for the transference of the authorship. Under the care of Dr Blair and Mr Robertson of Dalmeny and the celebrated Henry Mackenzie, were published, in 1790 and 1791, two volumes of Mr Logan's "Sermons." His lectures on Roman History, delivered at Edinburgh, were found in a state too fragmentary for publication.

Dr Carlyle was informed by Dr Grant that he had ascertained, from an examination of Logan's MSS., that in the small volume which he published in 1770, under the title of "Poems by Michael Bruce," he had himself composed "Damon, Menalcas, and Melibœus: an Eclogue," "Pastoral Song, to the tune of the 'Yellow-hair'd Laddie,'" "Ossian's Hymn to the Sun," "Ode to a Fountain," two Danish odes,

"Chorus of Anacreontic, to a Wasp," "The Fate of Levina," being 278 lines in the poem of "Lochleven," the "Ode to Paoli," and the "Ode to the Cuckoo." In connection with this last, Dr Grant discovered among his friend's MSS. the following supplementary verse hitherto unprinted :—

> Alas, sweet bird! not so my fate,
> Dark scowling skies I see;
> Fast gathering round and fraught with woe,
> And wintry years to me.

It is to be regretted that Dr Grant has not presented the evidence on which he discriminated between the compositions of the two poets. That the Ode to the Cuckoo, slightly altered by Logan, was the composition of Bruce has been proved incontestably. And with respect to the real authorship of the ten paraphrases which the General Assembly received from Logan, and added to their collection, it appears nearly certain that these were mainly, if not wholly, the work of Bruce. Irrespective of the strong presumptive evidence adduced on behalf of the Kinross-shire poet by his two latest editors, we have, from a perusal of Logan's missives, become wholly satisfied that he was incapable of morally discerning as to the real meaning of authorship. As he had introduced verses of his own into the posthumous issue of Bruce's poems in 1770, willing that the deceased bard might share his laurels, so we have seen that seventeen

years later he handed over to another his "View of Ancient History," a work sufficient to obtain for him literary distinction.[1] Dr Donald Grant, Logan's attached friend and executor, died on the 24th April 1809, bequeathing to the University of Edinburgh for exhibitions or bursaries a sum which now yields about £100 per annum.

Dr Joseph M'Cormick, minister of Prestonpans and editor of the Carstares State Papers, was in 1782 appointed Principal of the United College of St Andrews. About a year subsequent to his entering on the duties of his new office, Dr M'Cormick communicated with Dr Carlyle in these terms:—

"St Andrews, 3*rd February* 1783.

"I am just now throng with a rectorial oration when I demit that magnificent office on the first Monday of March. I think it will be tolerably decent after Hunter and George Hill have lick'd it up a little, and corrected grammatical slips to which I am very liable. I could have wished Mrs Carlyle and you had been here in time enough to see me in my purple and crimson robes; it would have impressed your minds with a suitable sense, and repressed those freedoms which I see you are still disposed to use towards your quondam brother parson."

Though not lacking in scholastic power, Dr M'Cormick was chiefly remarkable for his humorous say-

[1] It is to be deplored that in absence of the information which is supplied by his MSS., the two latest editors of Michael Bruce, Dr Mackelvie and Mr Grosart, should have visited Logan with so much hostile criticism. Through active cerebral disease Logan was led into error, but he did not offend wantonly or with intent.

ings, but Dr Carlyle has described him as "rather a merry-andrew than a wit." Dr George Hill of St Andrews, then Professor of Greek, was his nephew, and Dr John Hunter, the other reviser of his "rectorial oration," was then and long afterwards leader at the college table of the section adverse to those who acknowledged Dr Hill as their chief. A good-natured politician, Principal M'Cormick consulted the leaders of both sections, less for the correction of his "grammatical slips" than in order to a due enjoyment of academic tranquillity. To him, in the spring of 1790, Dr Carlyle applied for a guardian to a young man of fortune, and in his reply, dated the 30th March, the Principal recommended to him as eminently suitable, "Mr James Brown, teacher of mathematics in the University," whom he describes as "a man of great learning and of a firm and vigorous mind, blended with great patience and good temper:" he adds, "he is in a few weeks to be ordained minister of Dunino." To this parochial cure, in the gift of the United College, Mr Brown was admitted on the 13th May. We shall refer to him again.

With Dr M'Cormick's nephew, Dr George Hill, the minister of Inveresk had cherished a close intimacy. Under the leadership of Principal Robertson, they were both prominent debaters on the Moderate side, while on Dr Robertson's death in June 1793

Dr Hill became leader of the party. In this capacity Dr Carlyle informed him that he had ventured to remonstrate with Henry Dundas, then Home Secretary, on his dispensing the patronage of the Crown in favour of persons who cherished other than "Moderate" opinions. In acknowledging, on the 20th April 1793, Dr Carlyle's communication, Dr Hill commended his diligence and urged a continuance of his diplomacy :—

"I am," he writes, "exceedingly happy that you have given the Secretary your ideas. . . . If the scheme of equalising court favour goes on, the Moderate interest will soon vanish from the face of the earth. . . . By all means keep in the way of writing to Mr D[undas] as long as you have his ear. It will keep him out of other people's hands."

In a further communication, Dr Carlyle suggested to the Home Secretary that the Scottish clergy, not being represented, as was the English Church, should, in virtue of their livings, be admitted to the franchise. Forwarding to Dr Hill a copy of his letter, he received the following answer :—

"St Andrews, 3*rd December* 1793.

"I am very much obliged to you for taking the trouble of sending me a copy of your most interesting letter to Mr Dundas. I read it with much delight, and with the most entire and cordial approbation; and I shall lay it up in my safest repository, not without hope that I may live to see the day when it may be brought forth to your immortal honour. The ideas stated in it are of such magnitude, and are truths so luminous that I think they are not unlikely to lay hold of the magnanimous mind of Mr

Dundas. I know that he thinks the representation ought to be improved in order to adapt it to the present state of the country; and I think it is possible, even without a convulsion, that when the commotions of the day are settled, and Europe has leisure to profit by all the lessons, both to rulers and subjects, which the French Revolution administers, Mr Pitt and he, if they retain their influence both with the King and people, may digest and bring forward some great comprehensive scheme, containing in its principles an antidote against the return of French democratical madness. Such a scheme will not be complete, if it does not embrace the clergy by giving to some portion of our order, or to the delegates of the whole body in every country, a right of voting."

A glimpse at college politics turns up in connection with Mr James Brown, minister at Dunino. In a letter addressed to Dr Carlyle, on the 12th April 1796, Dr Hill has the following:—

"I am not up to your postscript about Brown. We know nothing of the particulars of his canvass; we hear, in general, that he has a good chance. But being all of us considered as hostile to him we receive no communication. If Brown goes, Hunter's son, I believe, will get Dunino."

Brown was now applying for the Professorship of Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, a candidature in which he was successful.[1] In obtaining his appointment, he was indebted chiefly to the vigorous recommendation of Dr John Hunter, and it was not without a sneer that Dr Hill predicted that,

[1] Owing to a nervous disorder, Dr James Brown was, after the trial of a single session, unable to conduct his professorial duties. He died in November 1838. His conversational powers were of a very high order.

in the event of his success, Dr Hunter's son would obtain the cure at Dunino. The augury proved correct. On Brown's preferment to Glasgow, Dr Hunter's son, James, was presented to the church living which he had vacated; he was afterwards, under the same patronage, elected Professor of Logic in the United College. For nearly thirty years the professorial chairs at St Andrews, in the gift of the College, were filled by nominees of the one or other of the two rival parties to whom allusion has been made.

On the 17th June 1799 Dr M'Cormick died, and in his office of Principal of the United College was succeeded by Dr James Playfair, minister of Meigle. Without any special reputation as a preacher, or as a debater in ecclesiastical courts, Dr Playfair was known as a scientific inquirer, also as a geographical student. Respecting him, Dr Hugh Blair on the 2nd October 1785 had communicated with Dr Carlyle in connection with the Moderatorship of the General Assembly. In this letter, after referring to the unfitness of Dr Somerville and the declinature of Mr Greenfield, Dr Blair proceeds :—

"Mr Playfair is the only other person whom I have heard named. I believe him to be a very good man; if he be sufficiently known in the Church, and if we be sure of his political principles. He was once, I am told, on the other side, and was made historiographer to the Prince of Wales. At the same time I am persuaded that whomsoever you and I and a few other friends adopt, we have strength in the Church to carry him through."

At this time Dr Playfair's nomination was departed from, but his accession to University honours and the influence which his new position commanded, again invited the attention of Moderate leaders. Dr Hill proposed that Dr Playfair should be placed in the chair of the Assembly, and by the members of his party he was authorised to convey their approval. Of the issue Dr Hill informed Dr Carlyle in the following letter:—

"St Andrews, 2*nd December* 1800.

"I have met with much kind attention from all my friends; from none more than from Dr Playfair, who discovers a very sound understanding in himself, and is really, I believe, a worthy, well-affectioned man. I read your question to him. But he had made a kind of bargain with me many months ago that we should allow him next year free to finish his great geographical work, after which he should be at our command."

When the limit was passed, for which he required dispensation, Dr Playfair was again approached by his university colleague, who met with an answer evasive as before. This was embarrassing, since it was fully expected that Dr Playfair would, by occupying the moderator's chair of the General Assembly of 1802, permanently unite himself with the Moderate party. By Dr Playfair the contingency was quite understood, and he sought to avoid indebtedness to those with whom he might be unable permanently to co-operate. As to the excuse relating to his "geography," the first of six quarto volumes

did not appear till seven years later. To Dr Carlyle, writing on the 9th February 1802, Dr Hill complained that Dr Playfair had disappointed him, but expressed his gratification that the office was accepted by Dr Finlayson, who, he added, "is compleatly one of ourselves." Two years later Principals Hill and Playfair fell into hot conflict. Commencing in a dispute as to whether the brother-in-law of one professor, or the near relation of another, should be appointed to the chair of natural science, the strife was severe and even fierce. After occupying the attention of the ecclesiastical courts till the leading combatants were all but exhausted, they parted, as ancient gladiators met, by cordially shaking hands.

Though more of a politician than beseemed a clergyman or the President of a Theological College, Dr George Hill possessed a high literary culture. By Professor Dugald Stewart he was requested to prepare an estimate of Principal Robertson as an ecclesiastical leader; and the narrative which he supplied was, with a few omissions, included by the Professor in the Principal's memoirs. But the rejection of a portion of what he had written was distasteful to him; consequently, his entire statement was reproduced in the appendix. On this subject he communicated with Dr Carlyle in these terms:—

"There is a good deal of excellent literary criticism in Mr Stewart's Life of Dr Robertson. But I do not like it as a life.

It does not present to you the man, his friends, his habits, and his character. I wish you had corrected in the MS. the errors you mention as to the beginning of his ecclesiastical life. I understood that part was submitted to you. I have a little reason to complain of my MS. being altered, as Mr Stewart says, in some places. This was done without any communication with me, yet the narrative is published with inverted commas as mine. I do not know the extent of the alterations; they may be merely verbal. But the acknowledgment that this MS. has been altered takes from me responsibility as to its contents."

In a footnote to Dr Robertson's memoir, Mr Stewart commends Dr Hill for his "talents and eloquence;" and the suppressed portions which are produced in the appendix simply refer to the writer's own views of ecclesiastical polity.

Sedulously concerned about his literary reputation, Dr Blair did not excel as a letter writer. Communicating with Dr Carlyle from London on the 22nd April 1783, he adds to the date, by way of evoking humour or exciting commiseration—"17th day of the gout." One of his letters to the minister of Inveresk conveys a further insight into the ecclesiastical habits of the period. John, third Earl of Glasgow, held office as Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly from 1764 to 1772. His speeches were gracefully composed, but did not owe their adornment to his lordship's literary skill. This, we learn from the following note, addressed by Dr Blair to Dr Carlyle:—

EDINBURGH, *May* 12, 1768.

"I had a letter from Lord Glasgow last post, in which, among other things, he tells me he is to be in town on Tuesday the 17th, and begs me to sup with him then, in order to concert something proper for the opening of the Assembly. I have always been in use to make my Lord's speeches for him; and I must this year devolve that office upon you. You know how good and worthy, and, at the same time, indolent and helpless a man he is about such matters, and I am sure you will not grudge to take this trouble for him. As I am to set out for London on that very day, I have wrote to him that you are the fittest person for him, and that I would desire you to come to town that day, and to call for him in the evening to receive any of his commands relating to the Assembly."

Dr Blair died on the 27th December 1800. In reference to him Dr Hill communicated with Dr Carlyle in these terms:—

"ST ANDREWS, *January* 29, 1801.

"My situation precluded me from enjoying much of Dr Blair's society. But I shall feel a very great blank. I had the greatest delight in going to him, and have received for a long course of years much kindness, and many paternal counsels from him. Few men have enjoyed so happy a mixture as he, of splendid fame and of affectionate esteem, unpoisoned by envy or any unkindly sentiment, from as large a circle of friends. The mixture was very much owing to that peculiar character of his, which you describe so admirably."

Dr Carlyle's estimate of Dr Blair communicated to Dr Hill is not forthcoming, but it was, doubtless, not inconsistent with the following narrative which we glean from his autobiography:—

"Blair was timid and unambitious, and withheld himself from public business of every kind, and seemed to have no wish but to

be admired as a preacher, particularly by the ladies. His conversation was so infantine that many people thought it impossible, at first sight, he could be a man of sense or genius. He was as eager about a new paper to his wife's drawing-room, or his own new wig, as about a new tragedy or a new epic poem. Not long before his death I called upon him, when I found him restless and fidgety. 'What is the matter with you to-day,' says I; 'my good friend, are you well?' 'Oh yes,' says he, 'but I must dress myself, for the Duchess of Leinster has ordered her grand-daughters not to leave Scotland without seeing me.' 'Go and dress yourself, doctor, and I shall read this novel. I am resolved to see the Duchess of Leinster's grand-daughters, for I knew their father and grandfather.' This being settled, the young ladies with their governess arrived at one, and turned out poor little girls of twelve and thirteen, who could hardly be supposed to carry a well-turned compliment, which the doctor gave them to carry to their grandmother."

Shortly after the death of David Hume, which took place on the 26th August 1776, Dr Carlyle was solicited by his literary friend and neighbour, Mr Ebenezer Marshal, minister of Cockpen,[1] to supply his reminiscences of the deceased philosopher. To Mr Marshal he despatched the following narrative:—

"As to what you mention about his mode of life, when he lived in the Canongate during the time he wrote his "History," he was an early riser, and being very laborious in his studies, he had little time for exercise, and therefore his custom was, early in the morning to walk round Salisbury Craigs and return to breakfast and his studies. He was much abroad at dinner, which in those days

[1] Whether Mr Marshal contemplated a memoir of David Hume is uncertain. He published a "History of the Union," an "Abridgment of the Acts of Parliament relating to the Church of Scotland," and a "Treatise on the British Constitution."

was at two o'clock, and what was singular at the time he gave no vales to servants, though he was at invited dinners four and five times a-week, and what was more singular still, though he was a great eater, but drank very moderately, he returned to his studies in the evening with clearness and assiduity. With respect to his not giving vales, the truth is that in these days he could not afford it, for he had not £50 per annum, though he wore fine cloaths. The servants, too, finding that he was facetious and good company and made their masters and mistresses very happy, were always as glad to see him as if he had paid them for every dinner. . . . Mr Hume was obliged to live very frugally, for though he had £40 from the Advocates' Library as librarian (he had sought that merely for the use of the books), he gave the whole salary away in charity. He had a very small house in Jack's Land in the Canongate, and kept only one maid-servant, whom he never parted with all her life, and such was the sweetness of his temper, that even when he became opulent, and his manner of living rare in proportion to his circumstances, he never put a housekeeper over her for fear of offending her. When he lived in the Canongate he gave little suppers now and then to a few select friends, but when he enlarged his manner of living he entertained much and well, and nobody since his death has taken the pains he did to bring together in congenial society the literati of Edinburgh."

To these "reminiscences," found among Dr Carlyle's papers, may be added an anecdote of Hume, presented in his "Autobiography." When the Hon. Patrick Boyle, brother of the Earl of Glasgow, and Mr Hume were lodging together in London, Mr Boyle was informed that his friend had received tidings of his mother's death. Entering his chamber he found the philosopher in tears. Having expressed his sympathy, Mr Boyle added—"You owe this uncommon grief to your having thrown off the principles of

religion, for if you had not, you would have been consoled by the firm belief that the best of mothers, and the most pious of Christians, was happy in the realms of the just." Mr Hume replied—"Though I threw out my speculations to entertain and employ the learned and metaphysical world, yet in other things I do not think so differently from the rest of mankind as you may imagine."[1]

Intimate with David Hume, it was Carlyle's privilege also to enjoy the friendship of Hume's powerful antagonist, Principal Campbell. Zealously attached to the moderate party, Dr Campbell vigorously insisted on maintaining the personal purity of the clergy at a period when discipline had become nearly obsolete. On this subject he thus communicated with Dr Carlyle:—

"ABERDEEN, *November* 19, 1785.

"I commend your zeal for the Church, but am strongly inclined to suspect that it is impossible to preserve her longer respectable. The form of process will no doubt admit several amendments. But the radical fault is not in the form of process, but in the judges. A popular assembly does very well for a legislature, but not for a judicatory, especially a criminal judicatory. And though it might do tolerably while there subsisted any regard to decency and virtue in the generality of the members, and a zeal for preserving purity of character in the order, what can we expect now, when party spirit has almost swallowed up all other distinctions. I am sorry to say it. I would not chance to say it to everybody, though I will acknowledge to you that I never saw a court in which in my opinion there is more flagrant respect of persons and

[1] Dr Carlyle's "Autobiography," pp. 273-4.

a less regard to the merits of these causes than in the General Assembly. Our Church's judicatories begun in excessive rigour (such was the spirit and power of the times), are likely to end in plenary indulgence, unless these shall produce, as on the Continent they did, reformation."

Though in his letter names are not introduced, Dr Campbell evidently referred to two cases of libel which were then dragging slowly in the ecclesiastical courts, and which, owing to the numerous appeals and corresponding references to the General Assembly by the inferior courts, were likely to prove interminable. Dr William Bryden, minister of Dalton, had, by the heritors and elders of his parish, been charged with grossly scandalous behaviour. Proceedings commenced in 1782, and three years had passed without a decision. Another case slowly moving from one church court to another was that of Mr Frederick Maclagan, minister of Melrose. The result in both cases justified Dr Campbell's augury, for while the grossest immorality in each instance was clearly proved, one offender was dismissed with a rebuke, and the other was allowed quietly to retire without being deprived of his ministerial status.

Archibald Alison,[1] father of Sir Archibald Alison,

[1] The family of Alison, which produced the historian of Europe, was descended from a family settled on the lands of Cupar Abbey, first known as Makallane, next as Allanson, latterly as Alysone and Alison. John M'Allon, son of Margaret Michell, who had jointly occupied the shepherd land of Dalvany, received on the 12th April 1558 a lease for nine years of the office of forester at

author of the "History of Europe," gave promise in early life of a vigorous intellect, combined with a taste for classical and general learning. A native of Edinburgh, he had been known to Dr Carlyle from early youth. Bred in the Episcopal persuasion, he qualified himself as a clergyman of the English Church. On his behalf, as an expectant, Dr Carlyle addressed his friend Henry Dundas, the Home Secretary, in these terms:—

"Dr Carlyle begs leave to recommend Mr Alison to Mr Dundas's best offices, as a young divine bred in the Church of England, of uncommon merits and accomplishments. After the usual academical education at Edinburgh, Mr Alison studied two years at Glasgow, and from thence was sent as an exhibitioner to Baliol College in Oxford, where he resided nine or ten years, and where he received ordination."

Mr Dundas promised that Mr Alison's claims should

Glenbrauchty, which John subscribed with his hand at the pen, led by a monk. In 1508 Donald Alanson received, with others, a lease of lands at Percy (Register of Cupar, vol. i., 269; ii., 236, 267). Prospering as agriculturists, the family acquired the lands of Newhall, near Cupar-Angus, where the ruins of a considerable mansion-house point to opulence. Andrew Alison, a younger son of Alison of Newhall, engaged in business at Edinburgh and became Lord Provost of the city. The baptism of of his son, the Rev. Archibald Alison, is thus recorded in the Edinburgh Parish Register:—"November 1757. Andrew Alison, merchant, in Lady Yester's parish, and Margaret Hart, his spouse —a son, named Archibald. Witnesses—Archibald Hart, merchant, in the College Kirk parish, and Alexander Innes, sen. of Cathlaw. The child was born on the 13th Aug., and baptised by Mr Robert Walker, minister in the New Church."

not be overlooked, but the promise was forgotten. Dr Carlyle applied with greater success to his former associate, Mr Pulteney, and through this venerable gentlemen, Mr Alison was, in 1784, presented to the curacy of Brancepeth, near Durham. Though of a limited endowment, the attainment of this cure enabled him to unite himself in wedlock to the eldest daughter of Dr John Gregory, to whom he had long been attached. To his benefactor Mr Alison expressed his gratitude in the following letter:—

"LUDLOW, near THROPSON, *August* 9, 1784.

"It was very peculiarly grateful to me that the first congratulation I received upon the event which has made me so happy should be from you. If I have so long delayed offering you my warmest thanks for the kindness of your interest, I assure myself you will impute it to everything but want of gratitude. At the time, indeed, when I wished to write you, and when I had so long to look back to the generosity of your friendship, I felt myself more than ever unequal to the expression of my acknowledgments; and even now, when I can no longer deny myself the satisfaction, it is rather with the hope of telling you that I am grateful, than of being able to tell you how much I am so. You will, at least, permit me to assure you that the honour of your friendship is now more than ever important to me, and that my acknowledgments receive no small increase when I recollect your interest in her welfare, from whom I have received all my happiness. While I thus wish, my dear sir, to assure you how unalterably you have bound me to you by the strongest tie my heart can feel, suffer me to offer to Mrs Carlyle every sentiment of the warmest acknowledgment for the kindness of her wishes and her concern. The confidence you permitted me to place in you, though it was the best expression I could give of my assurance of your regard, has served beyond everything to add to my sense of

obligational attachment to you both, and I must forget everything before I forget either the generosity of your concern or the warmth of my own acknowledgment. May you never know uneasiness or sorrow till I cease to thank or to love you! My mother has, I suppose, long before this time acquainted you with the *whole* of Mr Pulteney's generosity, and I am sure it is needless for me to tell you with what sentiments we have received it. The story, indeed, is so romantic, and so little in the common course of friendship, that I neither know how to speak nor to think of it."

One of the resident landowners at Inveresk, a man of eminent accomplishments both as a jurist and an historical writer, was Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes. His lordship showed some special characteristics, one of which was his conspicuous regard for the sanctity of the judicial oath. As a judge he administered the oath with remarkable solemnity, expressing the several words in a manner which might not fail to impress even the indifferent. To this feature of his lordship's character is mainly due a correspondence with Dr Carlyle, which otherwise would assign him no inconspicuous place in the ranks of the eccentric. His lordship wrote to Dr Carlyle from "Newhailes," on the 25th December 1786, in these terms:—

"Reverend Sir,—There has been a great deal of confusion in my family, owing to the following circumstances. My sister missed two bottles of cordial waters, which she had turned over from the still. Much enquiry has been made as to the person guilty. But nothing probative appears. In a matter which concerns myself I do not think myself at liberty to take the oaths of my servants;

this might be done before a Justice of the Peace. But it occurred to me that as this affair is a matter of scandal, and not intended to be followed out by a criminal prosecution, the better way would be by some sort of oath of purgation before you as a minister, in company with some elder. Please let me know whether this can be done, and if so what time you can fix for it. The business ought to be done *here*, as Lady Hailes wishes to be present when the oaths are administered. It is impossible to describe how much she is agitated. I pray God that it may not affect her health too much. The bearer will wait for your answer.—I am, reverend sir, your most obedient, humble servant, "DAV. DALRYMPLE."

The humorous minister of Inveresk would certainly indulge a smile at the idea of the health of Lady Hailes (as his lordship designates Lady Dalrymple) being affected seriously by the disappearance of two bottles of cordial waters. Nor would he read with entire composure another letter from his lordship, probably written on the same day as the missive which had preceded it. This second letter proceeds thus :—

"REVEREND SIR,—An oath before a Justice of Peace is not in my opinion so efficacious as one in an ecclesiastical court. If every person clears himself before the kirk-session there is an end of the matter. I have lived too long in the world, and been too much engaged in business, to rely much on oaths taken either way. But Lady Hailes, judging from her own feelings of right and wrong, and the solemn sanctity of oaths, expects more than I do. Her theory is right, although my experience may contradict it. As I told you before dinner, she is much distressed. In the situation of a mind perfectly upright, and confounded with reciprocal charges and suspicions, she has nothing else to resort to but some oath of purgation, and nothing else can make her easy. I hope that your health will allow you to go through this dis-

agreeable business sometime to-morrow. Pray appoint the hour by a message to Lady Hailes. I shall be engaged in the Justiciary Court, with so small a quorum as to render my presence indispensably necessary in Edinburgh both on Tuesday and Wednesday. This is singularly unfortunate, but there is no help for it; at the same time there is a necessity of having the oaths taken without delay. All this ought to have been done ten days ago, but the truth is that I had not a moment to spare from the business of the two Courts, which has been exceptionally severe.—I ever am, dear sir, your most obliged humble servant,

"Dav. Dalrymple."

How the affair ended does not appear, but it is hoped that "Lady Hailes" experienced from the prudent counsel of her parish minister more real satisfaction than in the whimsical gratification of her resentment.

With his titled neighbour, Charles, seventh Earl of Haddington, a man of easy manners and powerful wit, Dr Carlyle enjoyed no unprofitable intercourse. Of the Earl's letters several abound with trite and expressive criticisms. "I have often," he writes, "been struck with people endeavouring to establish character in a wide circle, not seeming to know that all character must be regulated by those who know you intimately in a small one, and that from that small one alone the larger take their impression, not to mention how little the great circle care about you one way or other."

Along with a supply of game to Inveresk manse in December 1801, Lord Haddington addressed a letter to Mrs Carlyle in these words :—

"Dear Mrs Carlyle,—Your husband intends, in order to show his manhood, to insist upon having currants in his hare soup. I trust you have too great a regard for the prerogative female ever to suffer such an intrusion as this would be on your right of ruling the kitchen. You are so thoroughly acquainted with the world that I need not point out to you, that all friendly hints of this kind are always well intended, and proceed from warm kindness both to a man and wife, and tend much to produce that harmony and concord which ought, but rarely does, subsist between them."

To Dr Carlyle the Earl's counsel is amusingly opposed to the advice tendered to his helpmate. He writes —

"At last my gamekeeper has got a couple of woodcocks which I send in company of a hare, which I hope you will, like a man of spirit, have made into broth, with currants, after your own taste, in spite of all Mrs Carlyle may say against it."

General Scott, jun., of Malleny, visited Paris subsequent to the peace of Amiens. In a letter dated Versailles, 7th November 1802, he describes to Dr Carlyle his presentation to the first consul in these terms :—

"I have seen with admiration all the fine sights of Paris, and been presented to Bonaparte, who is a wonderful man. I contemplated him at my ease for a considerable time; afterwards I stood close to him, but could not perceive any trait or appearance in him to lead one to suppose he was the man of whom we have heard. He has a sallow and melancholy countenance till he smiles. He did the honours of the levee with great propriety."

CHAPTER XVIII.

HUMOUR AND ECCENTRICITY.

THE hilarity of every country is moved by influences of its own. Thus, while the American laughs at the idea of a very tall man ascending a ladder to shave himself, or the companion of a rapid driver mistaking the milestones of a road for monuments in a cemetery, the Briton listens to these extravagances unmoved. And few save natives of Erin may enjoy the bull, when in answer to the remark, "One man is as good as another," his countryman answered, "Aye, and much better, too!" By pleasant word-playing the Englishman cheers and gives pleasure, but the northerner values only such verbal conceits as are forceful and stirring. When Charles Lamb remarks that his grandmother was a very tall woman, since she was a "granny dear," the Scotsman smiles, but it is in derision. Nor does he discover any real wit in the reproof addressed to Swift, when he was censuring his uncle Godwin for educating him like a dog, that he himself "had not got the gratitude of a dog." Reproved by a Scottish humorist, Swift

would have found himself in a fire which he might not readily extinguish.

Scottish jocundity is bracing as are the northern breezes. If his national comedy is confined to one drama—the "Gentle Shepherd"—the native of the north has a wealth of dramatic power in the weird utterances which start up everywhere. Even in the names of places is depicted the humour of the race. The gloomy vale is the *fairy* dell, the dismal grotto the *goblins' cave.* Edinburgh, in old and squalid times, was *Auld Reekie.* Even the source of evil is in Scottish parlance less associated with malice than with a mirthful rendering of the terrible. Thus, the "Devil's Glen" is a valley at Lochgoilhead; the "Devil's Staircase," a steep pathway at Glencoe; the "Devil's Caldron," a cascade on the Lednoch; the "Devil's Beef Tub," a hollow among the Moffat hills; the "Devil's Elbow," a perilous turn of the road at Glenshee; the "Devil's Mill" and the "Devil's Punch Bowl," portions of the wild scenery on the Devon.

When surnames came into use, the Caledonian had recourse to his humour that he might distinguish and individualise. Malcolm III., with his superior wit, was styled "Canmore," that is, of the big head, and Malcolm IV. was the "Maiden," that is, one of feminine aspects; then followed Alexander I., called the "Fierce," because of his impetuosity; and William, brave and adventurous, who was designated the

"Lion." In like manner James V., who rejoiced to wander about among his subjects in disguise, was popularly known as the "King of the Commons."

Those who bear aristocratic names might hesitate to admit that they owe their appellatives less to Norman descent than to Scottish wit. But the house of Avenel was founded by one who struck powerfully upon the *anvil.* The family of Howe lived in a *hollow;* and the earliest Landale in the "lang dale." From "cow-herd" came the family of the Cowards, and from "stot-herd" the race of Stodart. The dealer in good wine became Godwin; the brewer's son, was Bryson; and the vendor of good ale was styled "Goodall." The stone-builder who became superior to a common operative was called "Latomus," and his descendants Latto.

Sobriquets were common. William of Deloraine, a scion of the ducal house of Buccleuch, was in the sixteenth century known as William Cut-at-the-Black.[1] Another Border Minstrel was celebrated as "Sweet Mills."

When a few family names were common to entire districts, as in Banffshire and on the Border, sobriquets abounded. On the Border as contemporaries lived "Hob the King," "John the Braid," "Windie Dirkie," "Land give me little," "Owre the Moss," "Out wi' the Swerd," "Lang Ridare," "Picket up

[1] See Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel."

Archie," "Nimble Willie," "Wry Craig," "Lang Foot," "Sow Jock," and "Gleed John."[1]

In the Midland Counties sobriquets were also employed. The teacher of a juvenile school at Dollar, early in the century, was known as "Muckle Jean." And John Macdonald, a weaver in the same place, having refused the office of sexton, with the remark that he did not see how "he could earn daily bread by it," was by the name of "Daily Bread" known ever afterwards.[2]

Dr Patrick Cooper, minister at Dunbar, who died in 1822, having read his discourses when notes were generally dispensed with, was usually designated "Paper Pate." A minister in Selkirkshire, who frequently repeated his text, was known as "Heckle-text." Another clergyman in the same county, who in the pulpit used a violent action, was commonly named as "the walloper." "Roaring Willie" was the recognized appellative of Mr William Campbell, minister at Lilliesleaf. From his evangelical teaching and pleasing aspects, Dr Robert Russell, successively minister at Ettrick and Yarrow, was characterized as "the beauty of holiness." An elder, who frequently spoke in the General Assembly as a vigorous opponent to heretical teaching, Andrew Johnston of Rennyhill, sometime M.P. for the St Andrews Burghs, was de-

[1] Armstrong's "History of Liddesdale," Edinburgh, 1883, 4to, pp. 78-9.

[2] Gibson's "Reminiscences of Dollar," 2d ed.. 1883, p. 70.

scribed as "Saint Andrew." Campbell, an old lawyer at Stirling, very tall and very irascible, was known as "the deil's darning needle." An Edinburgh banker, with a crouching gait, was called the "deerstalker," and a north country pastor, from a foolish episode associated with his youth, was designated "Potato John." Through Sir Walter Scott, Archibald Constable, the publisher, was known as "Our fat friend," and John Ballantyne as "Rigdumfunnidos." Professor John Wilson assumed the *nom de plume* of Christopher North. Thirty years ago every university professor had a sobriquet applied to him in allusion to some special hobby or mode of expression.

Some family names humorously given by our ancestors have ceased to be in use. In the Sasine Register of Fifeshire in the sixteenth century appears one "Gudebody of that Ilk." Richard Deadman, who lived at Edinburgh in 1679, has no representative.[1] The names of Moonlight, Happiland, Smiklaw, Oldcorne, and Caldcleuch, which in the fifteenth century appear in the parish registers of Edinburgh, Lasswade, Kinneff, and the Canongate, have been dispensed with. In 1811, William Mow, writer to the signet, made application to the Supreme Court that he might be authorized to adopt the name of "Molle," which he proceeded to show was that borne by his progenitors. The more inharmonious appellative

[1] Edinburgh Register of Births.

was allowed readily.[1] The designations of Eyvil, Falsey, Fluke, Groundwater, Sneesby, and Twaddle continue.[2] Very recently a child was baptised in the parish of Dyke, in Morayshire, whose parents were Robert Eagle and Mary Goose.

In the early times merry-making abounded. With the reign of Alexander III., Wyntoun associates "gamyn," that is sportiveness. To his troops at Falkirk, Wallace exclaimed, "I have brought you to the ring, dance if you can." James I. joined in the national sports at Falkirk, Stirling, and Perth. By James II. and James III. professional jesters were employed; James IV. pensioned bards and dramatists; James V. rewarded humorists and "tale-tellers," and Queen Mary jested at her Council board. James VI. was a creditable wit. On revisiting Scotland in 1617, he, in the Chapel Royal at Stirling, assembled the professors of the University of Edinburgh, of which he was the founder. When in his presence were exercised their most choice dialectics, James proceeded, by way of approval to indulge in punning upon their names. To Professor Adamson he remarked that, as Adam was father of the race, it was well that in the discussion Adam's son had a foremost place. The thesis of Professor Fairlie, he said, had some *ferlies* in it, and he had *fairly* upheld them.

[1] Acts of Sederunt, Edinburgh, 1811, p. 637.

[2] Death Register of 1879, issued by the Registrar General.

Professor Sands had proved that all Sands were not barren. Young, he added, is "old in Aristotle." James kept a Court jester, Archie Armstrong, who accompanied him to England, and there vigorously exercised his vocation. He was privileged to indulge his banter at the King's personal cost. But Armstrong ventured on ground more perilous; his wit offended Archbishop Laud. He had warned the primate to abstain from interfering with Scottish affairs, and when news came that the royal proclamation respecting the service-book, made at Stirling, in March 1637, had been received contemptuously, he ventured on a jest. As Laud was passing through the palace to the Privy Council, he exclaimed, "Wha's fule noo?" In angry words Laud reported at the Council-table what Armstrong had said, and on his motion the following resolution was forthwith passed:—

"Ordered by His Majesty, with the advice of the Board, that Archibald Armstrong, the King's Fool, for certain scandalous words of a high nature, spoken by him against the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, his Grace, and proved to be uttered by him by two witnesses, shall have his coat pulled over his head, and be discharged of the King's service, and banished the Court, for which the Lord Chamberlain of the King's household is prayed and required to give order to be executed."

Armstrong's degradation took place on the 11th March 1637, and, less than four years afterwards, viz., on the 1st March 1641, Laud was, under the

charge of high treason, committed to the tower. At his estate of Arthuret in Cumberland, Armstrong composed on his adversary's fall these lines :—

> "His foole's coate now is in far better case
> Than he whom yesterday had so much *grace;*
> Changes of times surely cannot be small
> When jesters rise and archbishops fall.[1]

Humour attended the Reformation both in its origin and early progress. Apart from his poetical sarcasms at the expense of the Romish clergy, Sir David Lindsay ridiculed them orally. When James V. was in his court, surrounded by the nobility and clergy, Lindsay desired to make a personal request. "I have served your Grace long," he said, "and look to be rewarded as are others. And now that your master tailor is departed, I would desire of your Grace to bestow this little benefit upon me." The king answered with a smile, "You dog, you know that you can neither shape nor sew." "No odds," replied the humorist, "for your Grace has given kirks to many who can neither teach nor preach; and why may not I as well be your tailor, though I can neither shape nor sew?"

Against Papal error John Knox indulged a crush-

[1] The jests published in Armstrong's name are not specially to be remarked; indeed, his connection with the book is highly problematical. A modern edition is entitled, "Archie Armstrong's Banquet of Jests." Edinburgh, 1872, 12mo.

ing sarcasm. When prisoner in the French galleys he was desired to kiss a timber image of the Virgin. Tossing it into the sea, he exclaimed, "Our Lady is light; let her swim."

George Buchanan was eminently facetious; in a Latin drama he scourged the Franciscan Monks, and that wit which he had wielded against ecclesiastical corruption he also exercised as a preceptor. As tutor to James VI., he one day in his presence claimed regal honours, addressing James as his subject. When the young king demanded an explanation, he showed him a document which he had subscribed, unread, in which he abdicated to his tutor for three days the royal authority. By this act of drollery, Buchanan was enabled to convey to his royal pupil a lesson of caution.

In the social intercourse of our English neighbours Scottish banter has no equivalent. Lacking the harsh satire associated with English raillery, it is immeasurably superior to southern badinage; while it may be questioned whether a Scottish banterer ever awakened in a neighbour sentiments of anger. Often the subject of banter by his friends, James Boswell enjoyed rather than resented it. Personally, he indulged banter not unsuccessfully. "I never roast any," said to him one of his associates, meaning that he was not given to raillery. "No, you never roast," said Boswell, "for you have no fire."

Principal Robertson, being intensely loquacious, usually monopolised the conversation. To prevent his gratifying his peculiarity, Professor Adam Ferguson remarked to him, prior to a dinner-party, that he suspected there was something wrong with their friend Dr Alexander Carlyle, since his talk now consisted only of miserable drivel. After dinner, when the Principal was commencing to descant on a selected topic, Dr Carlyle entered upon a disquisition on the importance of patent mustard. The Principal sat paralysed, and, during the evening, ventured only an occasional sentence. Professor William Brown of the Church History Chair in the University of St Andrews, was not ordinarily a humorist. What nature denied him he obtained through a demonstrative aversion. The members of the University were seated together at their annual dinner, when someone proposed as a toast, "The Faculty of Arts." Professor Brown, who was at variance with all the members of the faculty, raised his glass, exclaiming, "To our absent friends, gentlemen." Another matter-of-fact Professor of Church History was the late energetic Dr James Robertson of Edinburgh, formerly of Ellon. Meeting in the College Library one morning his colleague, Principal Lee, he enquired after his welfare. Dr Lee, who though he enjoyed a vigorous constitution, was querulous about his health, answered in his usual valetudinary mode, "I've been very ill,

sir, and have had no sleep for ten days." "Then you're getting well, Dr Lee," rejoined his interlocutor, "for when last I enquired as to your health, you had not slept for six weeks." Personally Dr Lee excelled in banter. Professor Pillans when he had passed his eightieth birthday, remarked to him that he felt quite juvenile, though the feeling, he added, was clearly a delusive one. "No delusion, indeed, my friend," exclaimed the Principal; "second childhood is a reality." Dr David Laing, the eminent antiquary, procrastinated sadly. Often rallied as to his propensity, he submitted patiently; and when remonstrated with by letter, he concluded his reply in a manner which at once evinced his humour and acknowledged his peculiarity. He wrote, "Yours always *D Laing*."[1]

Scottish ladies excel in banter. Campbell, Laird of Combie, met at dinner Miss Macnab of Barochastail. Campbell was celebrated for his licentious manners, the lady for an unpleasing exterior. "Come," said Campbell, looking across the table to Miss Macnab, "I'll give you a toast, 'Honest men and bonny lasses.'" "Yes, Campbell; I'll drink to it," said the lady, "for it neither applies to you nor me." The colonel of the Perthshire cavalry, in complaining of

[1] Those unfamiliar with the dry humour of Caledonia may, in order to discern the antiquary's humour, be directed to read the antiquary's signature *vive voce*.

the inefficiency of his officers, remarked that the duties of the corps devolved solely upon himself. "I am," said he, "my own captain, my own lieutenant, my own cornet, and my——" "Your own trumpeter," added a lady. But in smart speeches Scottish gentlewomen have not always triumphed. Lady Wallace, sister of the more celebrated Jane, Duchess of Gordon, was in raillery overcome by David Hume. "I am often asked," she said to the philosopher, "what age I am; what answer should I make?" "When you are asked that question again," replied Hume, "just say you are not come to the years of discretion." Remarked a Glasgow gentlewoman to Professor Robert Buchanan, as she sat beside him at dinner, "It's all the talk that you and I are to become man and wife." "Aye,', said the Professor, "but we'll cheat them." "Do you know," said Mrs L. to a Scottish baronet, "that people give out that you and my daughter Gertrude Louise are to be married? It's so very awkward; what shall we say about it?" "Just say she refused me," responded the baronet. The most noted of Scottish punsters, Henry Erskine, was challenged by the middle-aged Miss Hennie Dallas[1] to make a pun

[1] This gentlewoman, who, at the beginning of the century, moved in the literary circles of Edinburgh, was daughter of George Dallas, W.S., representative of the family of Dallas of St Martin's, Ross-shire.

upon her name. "Ah!" exclaimed the wit, "Hennie, you're nae chicken." "A pun cannot be made on my name," ejaculated Mr Dunlop. "Lop off the latter syllable and it's done [dun]," said Erskine.

Repartee is a chief feature of northern wit. When, on the accession of the Coalition Ministry, in 1783, Henry Erskine was appointed Lord Advocate, he was jocularly offered by his predecessor Henry Dundas the loan of his silk gown, with the remark that he was not likely to require it long. "I have no doubt," said Erskine, "your gown is made to *fit any party*, but however short may be my term of office it shall not be said that I put on the abandoned habits of my predecessor."

John Clerk, of Eldin, afterwards a judge, indulged in humorous hard hitting. Persisting in the use of the vernacular, he made no effort to abandon it, even in the English courts. Pleading in the House of Lords, he used the words, "In plain English," when Lord Chancellor Eldon exclaimed, petulantly, "You mean plain Scotch." "Yes, my lord," quietly continued the pleader, "or plain common sense, if you understand that."

When Dr Laurence Lockhart, minister of Inchinnan, succeeded to the estate of Milton-Lockhart, Dr Robert Gillan of Glasgow was appointed his successor. Some time afterwards, Dr Lockhart, in communicating with him, expressed a hope that the MSS.

and sermons he had left in an attic chamber were kept free from damp. Dr Gillan answered laconically, "The MSS. are quite dry, *especially the sermons.*"

In witty rejoinder Mr Walter Dunlop of the Secession Church, Dumfries, was especially effective. A neighbour, Mr Clark, whose mental capacity fell short of his fine exterior, was complimented by Mr Dunlop with the remark, "That's a great head o' yours, Mr Clark." Said Clark, who disliked the allusion. "Aye: it wad haud twa sma' heads like yours." "May be," rejoined Mr Dunlop, "for it's gey an' toom"—he meant empty.

The Rev. Professor Lawson, minister of Selkirk, had a medical attendant who used oaths. Dr Lawson was one day consulting him about his health. Having learned what his symptoms were, the M.D. exclaimed, with an expletive, "You must give up that habit of snuffing; unless you give it up (adding another oath), you'll not recover." "It is rather a costly habit," replied Dr Lawson, "and if it is injuring me, I will abandon it. But you, too, my dear friend, indulge a bad habit—that of swearing—and it would comfort your friends were you to give it up." "But it's not a costly habit like yours," rejoined the physician, with a smile. "Very costly you'll find it, sir, when the account comes," added the Professor gravely.

Dr Dow of Errol and Dr Duff of Kilspindie, ministers in the Carse of Gowrie, were both humorists, and often met. On a New Year's day Dr Dow sent to his friend, who was a great snuffer, a mull, inscribed—

Dr Dow to Dr Duff,
Snuff! Snuff! Snuff!

The allusion to his habit, Dr Duff resolved pithily to avenge, and, knowing his friend's weakness for toddy, despatched to him a hot-water jug, with these lines upon the lid—

Dr Duff to Dr Dow,
Fou! Fou! Fou!

Reproof, with a gentle humour, has not been without its uses. One of the most earnest of modern Gaelic poets, Dugald Buchanan, ultimately a catechist in the Highlands, was first led to think seriously by being made the subject of a jest. "What is your profession?" inquired of him a pious Highlander. "As to that," replied Buchanan, "I have none particularly. My mind is very much as a sheet of white paper." "Then take care," responded the querist, "that the devil does not write his name upon it." Henceforth Buchanan became serious.

Dr David Johnston, minister of North Leith, in the course of visiting his parish, entered the house of a Secession elder. "I cannot receive you," said the householder, "for I abhor the State religion, and

assert the great voluntary principle." Mildly replied Dr Johnston; "Jerusalem has twelve gates, and all lead to the temple. I hope we'll meet there." "There's my hand, sir," said the objector, "and God bless you."

By the gentle sarcasm of a humble cottager, a minister in Fife was led to abandon a loftiness of demeanour which impeded his usefulness. Asked by an aged widow, to "sit doun" as he entered her dwelling, he, expecting a more respectful salutation, exclaimed, "Woman, I'm the Lord's servant." "If that be sae," persisted the widow, "then like your Maister ye'll be humble and sit doun."

A farmer at Kirriemuir remarked that the young grass in one of his fields seemed to be grazed on before daybreak. Getting up early one Sunday morning, he observed a cow among the grass, to which was attached a long tether, which he traced to the door of a man who pretended piety. There he rested, with the tether in his left hand and the Bible in his right, which he seemed engaged in studying. "Are ye trying to mak them square, Tammas?" exclaimed the farmer, pointing to the tether and the book. The reproof was crushing.

Mr Linton, schoolmaster of Brechin, was a haughty pedant. A farmer waited on him, accompanied by his young son, whom he presented as a pupil. "What do you intend to make of the lad?" asked

Mr Linton loftily. "Weel," said the farmer, "if he gets grace we'll mak' him a minister." "Ah," persisted Mr Linton, "and if he gets no grace, what then?" "Then," said the farmer, looking firmly at the pedagogue, "he maun juist become a schulemaister, like yersel'."

Sir John Whitefoord, Bart., sternly resisted the interference in county affairs of persons connected with trade. A shopkeeper in his neighbourhood having purchased lands in the county, became a Commissioner of Supply. At a county meeting, when a question arose about roads, the new landowner ventured a suggestion, when Sir John arose and spoke of "persons from the dunghill." "A dunghill is very filthy," retorted the trader, "but surely, Sir John, it's better to be leavin' it than comin' till't." Sir John's estates were burdened with debt, and were about to be sold.

Professor John Hill of Edinburgh walked each morning on the Calton Hill. Tom Jackson, a reputed idiot, was generally on the road before him, and the Professor, annoyed by what he regarded as an intrusion, said to him one morning, "Tom, how long may one live without brains?" "I dinna ken, sir," responded Tom; "how lang hae ye lived yersel'?"

Among eccentric Scotsmen, James Boswell holds a first place. Apprehending his own oddities, he wrote, "My head is like a tavern, in which a club of punch-

drinkers have taken up the room that might have been filled with lords who drink Burgundy, but it is not in the landlord's power to dispossess them." Of himself, on another occasion, he remarked—" I am a composition of an infinite variety of ingredients. I have been formed by a vast number of scenes of the most different nations, and I question if any uniform education could have produced a character so agreeable." Boswell believed he could discharge every duty better than that which he had presently in hand. When in fair practice as an advocate at Edinburgh, he thought of securing a commission in the Guards. Next he fancied that the Scottish Law Courts were a field too restricted for his genius, so he transferred himself to the Courts at Westminster. Moved with a strange desire to attach himself to some notable person, he sought the society of Lord Hailes, but after a time he felt that his companionship suited a brighter luminary. As the chief star of his time was Dr Samuel Johnson, he determined to secure his friendship. When he had accomplished this, his joy was overwhelming. To his correspondent, John Johnstone of Grange, he, on the 9th May 1772, addressed a letter from " Mr Samuel Johnson's study." Five days later he informed the same correspondent that he had been entertaining Dr Johnson at dinner.

Familiar with Dr Johnson, Boswell became intimate with other notables. He proceeded to Corsica,

and there interviewed Paoli. The cause of Corsica, for which Paoli contended, he made his own; and at a demonstration at Stratford-on-Avon, whither he had gone to celebrate Shakespeare, he wore a Corsican dress. He coveted the *sobriquet* of "Corsican Boswell."

In his Common-place Book, Boswell refers to the eccentricities of Sir Alexander Ogilvy, Lord Forglen. During his last illness Forglen was visited by his friend Dr Clark. "Weel, Doctor, what news?" he asked. "I canna say I have ony," said the doctor. "Dear man," responded his lordship, "wha do they say is to succeed me?" "It's time enough," said the doctor, "to speak o' that when you're dead." "Hoot," said Forglen, "will ye tell us?" Upon which Dr Clark named one of the learned faculty. "What's his interest?" The doctor stated it. "Pooh, that'll no dae," said the judge. "Who else?" The doctor named another. "What's his interest?" said the judge. It was given. "Pooh, that'll no dae." The doctor named a third expectant and his supposed interest. "I'll lay my siller on his head against the field," responded the dying senator. When Dr Clark renewed his visit, Lord Forglen's clerk, Mr David Reid, met him at the entrance. "How does my lord do?" enquired the visitor. "I hope he's weel," said the clerk, a remark which the doctor knew was an intimation that his patient was gone. Mr Reid con-

ducted the physician to a room where under the table lay two dozen bottles of wine. Other friends of the deceased came in, and corks were drawn. Mr Reid detailed the history of his lordship's last hours, and passed round the bottle. When the gentlemen rose to leave he interposed. "No, gentlemen," said he, "It was the will o' the dead that I should fill you a' fou, and I maun fulfil the will o' the dead." The company remained, adds Boswell, till "none was able to bite his thumb."

Andrew Stuart, the famous Peerage lawyer of last century, closed every successful plea by a prodigal hospitality. Writing on the 28th March 1759, to General William Alexander of New Jersey, informing him that by a jury he had been served heir-male to the Earldom of Stirling, he concludes:—"According to your orders I gave a genteel entertainment to the gentlemen of the jury, when there was much mirth and jollity, and many bumpers to the prosperity of yourself and family. As I had the duty of landlord upon me, politeness required me to do the honours of the table, while any of the guests remained, by which it so happened that the landlord was at last almost incapable of giving you any accounts that night of what had happened. He had this, however, to comfort him, that very few of his guests were better qualified than he to send you intelligence."[1]

[1] MS. Correspondence of the American Earl of Stirling, in the archives of the Historical Society of New York.

David Steuart Erskine, eleventh Earl of Buchan, who founded the Society of Antiquaries, was of eccentric habits. In 1819 Sir Walter Scott was laid up in his house in Castle Street, Edinburgh, by a sharp attack of illness. Though aware that the physicians had prohibited the reception of visitors, Lord Buchan determined on having an interview. Finding the knocker on the front door tied up, his lordship descended to the area door, and, despite the remonstrances of the coachman, mounted up-stairs on his way to Sir Walter's bed-chamber. Miss Scott met him and expostulated. It was useless. The earl said that he "must see Sir Walter." Meanwhile the coachman, again coming upon the scene, gave his lordship a shove, and, with menacing gestures, showed that further intrusion would be resisted. Informed of the occurrence, Sir Walter despatched Mr James Ballantyne to explain matters. Ballantyne found the earl in a state of lamentable excitement. "He had gone," he said, "to embrace Sir Walter before he died, and to remind him that they should rest together in the same burial place, and to show him a plan of the funeral procession which he had prepared."

A younger brother of Lord Buchan was the celebrated Lord Chancellor Erskine. According to Sir Walter Scott, Lord Erskine was, through professional restraint, kept from being openly insane. When he

retired from public life he committed many extravagances. "I have heard him," writes Scott, "tell a cock-and-bull story of having seen the ghost of his father's servant, John Burnet, with as much gravity as if he believed every word he was saying."

Isolation is productive of eccentric habits. David, fourth Earl of Airlie, in early life commanded a regiment under Prince Charles Edward, and many years was an exile in France. Latterly, at Cortachy Castle, he led the life of a recluse. He received a London newspaper once a week, which he burned after reading, that he might enjoy the satisfaction of personally retailing the news to his domestics.

At the outset of his career, Mr Robert Haldane, who loved sylvan retirement, advertised for a hermit to occupy a hermitage which he constructed on his beautiful domain of Airthrey, on the southern slopes of the Ochils. In this structure he proposed to accommodate a person who would in all respects realise Dr Goldsmith's description of the eremite. There were several applicants, but no one was found willing to pledge himself to a perpetual seclusion.

At the commencement of life, Dr Hew Scott, author of "The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland," endured no inconsiderable privation; hence he contracted penurious habits which rigidly clung to him. He did not purchase writing paper, but composed his sermons, as well as his great

work, on letter-backs. In his correspondence he used turned envelopes. When confined to his bed-chamber during his last illness, he occupied himself by opening envelopes and refolding them with a view to their future use.

Of a vigorous understanding and superior culture, Dr John Park, minister of Cadder, was withal much inclined to parsimony. When at an advanced age his health became feeble, he arranged with the parish sexton as to the cost of his interment. As he had stipulated that his grave was much to exceed the usual depth, and some impediments were to be removed from the surface, the sexton remarked that for their labour he and his assistant would be entitled to thirty shillings. "You shall have one pound, George," said the Doctor; "but you must pledge me that you will not charge a farthing more."

Mr James Greig, minister of Ballingry, lived in positive retirement, hardly so much as withdrawing the shutters of his sitting-room. In his garden he allowed weeds and flowers to grow together, the former assuming gigantic proportions. When the front door of his manse fell down under decay, he permitted the fragments to rest where they fell, and the house to remain unsecured. He refrained from purchasing new clothes, wore unpolled hair, and rejoiced in unpared nails.

Benevolent towards the unfortunate, Thomas Car-

lyle indulged the unhappy tendency of censuring his contemporaries. In his journal, in which he made constant entries, he recorded his impressions of those whom he met in society, or who waited upon him at his house. These impressions were of an unusual severity. One of the gentlest of his contemporaries, a friend whom he warmly cherished, Dr David Laing, the antiquary, he describes as resembling the son of one who was hanged for murder! Sir Walter Scott he describes as "supercilious," since as he had omitted to acknowledge his service as bearer to him of a gift from Goethe. Professor John Wilson, whose geniality was proverbial, he characterises as "disdainful," since he had not fulfilled a promise to visit him. Dr David Irving, to whom he extended a life-long friendship, he describes as having "behaved badly" in procuring him at Edinburgh some noisy lodgings. Having met Allan Cunningham, he inclined to question his "sincerity," while James Hogg, with whom he had a solitary meeting, he has denounced as vain, as on solicitation he sung his own songs or repeated them. William Tait, the publisher, a kind unpretentious man, he describes as a "booby," while other friends who had rendered him service, he censures even more impetuously.

The late Dr Thomas Duncan, minister of the New Church, Dumfries, was known to be extremely oblivious. One afternoon he, after a long walk, became

at length exhausted, when he stepped into a farmhouse and begged permission to rest a little. The farmer respectfully asked him for his name. "I would have given you my name at once," answered the visitor, "but the truth is, it has escaped me." "Then you're Dr Duncan of Dumfries," responded the farmer.

Dr William Wilkie, Professor of Natural Philosophy at St Andrews, author of "The Epigoniad," is, in relation to his obliviousness, the subject of numerous anecdotes. Meeting at St Andrews a former student, he said to him, "I am sorry to hear you have had fever in your family; was it you or your brother who died of it? Ah, indeed, it was yourself," continued the Professor; "very sorry for it, very sorry." Wilkie was the victim of a perpetual chill. He wore thick winter clothing in the dog-days, and slept all the year round under twelve pairs of blankets. When a youth he was placed on his father's fields as a scare-crow, for, in reading a book, his concentration was such that he would remain standing on the spot on which he was placed, without the desire to move from it, or the consciousness of restraint.

According to Dr Alexander Carlyle, Dr Adam Smith was "the most absent man in company he ever saw, mourning his losses and talking to himself, and smiling in the midst of large companies." When resident at Kirkcaldy he was deeply engaged in his philosophic studies. Early on a Sunday morning

while so occupied he walked into his garden. Instead of returning from the garden to his dwelling he passed by a small path into the turnpike road, along which he proceeded in a condition of reverie, till he reached Dunfermline, fifteen miles distant. The people were proceeding to church, and the sound of the church bells aroused the philosopher to consciousness. He was arrayed in an old dressing-gown, and presented withal so strange an appearance that he was regarded as a lunatic.

Dr Robert Hamilton, Professor of Mathematics at Aberdeen, was most oblivious. He was so engrossed in his subject, as to be indifferent to the showers of peas cast at him when his face was turned towards the demonstration-board. On one occasion a naughty idler threw against the board a toy cracker containing a few grains of detonating powder, which exploded with a loud report. In a moment Hamilton bounded from the class-room, and when a deputation entered his private apartment he burst forth: "Gentlemen, don't, I entreat you, fire with ball; the board was penetrated close by my right ear!"

The celebrated Professor James Beattie of Aberdeen was, when schoolmaster at Fordoun, suspected of lunacy, and his alleged madness was reported to Lord Gardenstone. Not long afterwards his lordship was walking in a glen in the vicinity of his residence, when he found the schoolmaster seated on a bank,

writing and repeating aloud what he had written. On coming up, Gardenstone, who was struck by the beauty of the lines which the schoolmaster had declaimed, entered into conversation with him, and after a time said, "I see that the report as to your madness is not well founded. You are a genius, not a lunatic." "Ah!" responded Beattie, "I see I have been compromising myself by repeating my lines aloud. And I have at times quite unconsciously continued my evening walk up to the hours of morning."

Both Sir Walter Scott and his son-in-law, John Gibson Lockhart, were subject to obliviousness. In a note to his neighbour at 41 Castle Street, James Wylie, of Annatfield, W.S., written in August 1822, two years after he was created a baronet, he begins, "Mr Scott, with many apologies," &c. Before his departure for London, Mr Lockhart acknowledged the hospitality of his literary friends by inviting them to an entertainment. A considerable number assembled, and all were merrily disposed; but the host had fallen into one of his dull humours, and would not be moved. The only word uttered by him during the evening was a monosyllable. A friend who sat near asked him to name the wine; he replied, "Hock."

Professor Lawson of Selkirk, his biographer relates, forgot the day of his marriage, with the result that his *fiancée* refused to receive an explanation, and withdrew her consent.

Both Dr Thomas Chalmers and Professor Simson, of Glasgow, the eminent geometrician, were, in journeying between their residences and their class-rooms, in the habit of counting their steps. In his work on the "Clubs of Glasgow," Dr Strang relates that while on his way from the college to his club at Anderston, Simson, occupied as usual in enumerating his steps, was accosted by a stranger. "One word with you, Professor," said the stranger. "Most happy, 573." "Just one question," persisted the spokesman. "Well, 573," said the Professor. "You are too polite; but it is to decide a bet. Did D—— bequeath £500 to each of his nieces?" "Precisely, 573," replied the Professor, and walked on.

Romancing was in former times not deemed wholly incompatible with a respect to the proprieties of religion. A notorious romancer, Mr James Durham, the laird of Largo, in Fife, carefully observed domestic worship. And the time of the evening exercise he regulated by the appearance of the smoke of Edinburgh, which he could, in summer, distinguish twenty-five miles off. He would say, "It's time, bairns, to tak the beuks, for yonder's Auld Reekie putting on her nichtcap."[1] At a meeting of the district Road Trustees he pleaded for the repair of a farm road near his residence, clenching his

[1] Dr Robert Chambers's "Traditions of Edinburgh," edit. 1869, p. 168.

remarks by a narrative: "Just the other day," he said, "as I was walking upon this road, I met the local carrier, who, whip in hand, was looking wistfully into a small pool which bubbled in its centre. 'What is the matter, John?' I inquired, as I remarked tears upon his cheek. 'D'ye see that bubbling water?' responded he, pointing to the pool. 'I do, and what of it?' I asked. 'Aye, sir, that's a' I've got for a horse and cart; baith are doun.' The poor man had, gentlemen, lost his all." Mr Durham obtained his wish, for while none believed his story, all were amused by his romance. Mr Durham employed a valet whose name was Peter. Having been long in his family, Peter was regarded as a permanent member of his domestic staff. None better knew his master's weakness, or more keenly deplored a habit which, though overlooked by some, was obnoxious to others. At length Peter adopted a course which gave him an opportunity of remonstrating. "I'm going to leave your service, sir," said Peter; "I go at the term." "What's your discontent, Peter," exclaimed Mr Durham, "Have I not treated you always well, and raised your wages from time to time? Tell me at once what's wrong?" "I cannot say, sir, I have in the house aught to complain of, but I cannot longer endure the public talk." "What are they saying, Peter?" persisted Mr Durham. "Why, sir, the people point me

out one to the other as 'the man who has the leein' maister.'" "If this is really so," answered Mr Durham, "I must be more careful, and you may help me a little. When at dinner, as you are standing behind my chair, if I relate a story which you think a little exaggerated, give me a nudge and I'll make it right at once." Not long afterwards Mr Durham was entertaining at dinner a party of friends, when he proceeded to describe some foxes he had seen abroad, with tails twelve feet long. John gave his master a nudge, when Mr Durham remarked to his guests, "No, I am wrong. Not twelve; they were six feet long." Peter administered a second nudge. "Ah, well, on reflecting," said Mr Durham, "I believe the animals' tails were not beyond three feet long." Peter yet nudged when Mr Durham turned sharply round, and addressing his attendant, said gravely, "Peter, if I reduce the tail further the story's gone." Mr Durham indulged a good-humoured banter. He was one day romancing to Sir John Marjoribanks of Lees, in a tale intended to hit off some of the latter's peculiarities. "That's a Largo," replied Sir John. "No," Mr Durham humorously rejoined, "It is not Largo, it's *Lees*."[1]

[1] A clever neighbour composed as Mr Durham's epitaph these lines:—

Here lies Durham,
But Durham *lies* not here.

Admiral Sir Philip Charles Durham, third son of James Durham, of Largo, inherited his father's peculiarity. Having joined the Navy, he became a lieutenant of the *Royal George*, and was on board that ill-fated vessel when, on the 29th August 1792, she sunk at Spithead. He happily escaped, but the tidings of his safety did not reach Largo for several days after the first news of the catastrophe. During the interval old Mr Durham was in deep distress on account of his favourite son, who he concluded had perished with the ship. Even the sight of a letter in his son's handwriting did not relieve his anxiety, for, said he, "Philip is sair inclined to lee, an' I'll no believe he's been saved till he tells me oot o' his ain mooth, an' aiblins then I'll no be quite sure." Sir Philip was prototype of one of Captain Marryat's most amusing characters, whose Munchausen-like stories used to gratify the readers of fiction some forty years ago. To this day Sir Philip's family name is in naval slang used to signify any incredible relation.

Possessing large capacity, encyclopedic information, vast powers of eloquence, and singular promptitude, Henry Peter, Lord Brougham, had withal an imaginative faculty, which led him into error.[1] When

[1] "Lord Brougham's vast powers of mind," writes Earl Russell, "were neutralised by a want of judgment, which prevented any party from placing entire confidence in him, and by frequent for-

on a visit to Edinburgh he was walking in the Greyfriars' Churchyard, he, in the hearing of Mr Campbell, the recorder, pointed out to Sir Robert Peel and Lord Lincoln, who accompanied him, the house in the Cowgate in which he was born, and which is to be remarked from that place of graves.[1] The Cowgate is situated within the boundaries of St Giles Parish. Accordingly, in the baptismal register of that parish appears the following entry:—"Wednesday, 30th September 1778. Henry Brougham, Esq., parish of St Giles, and Eleanora Syme, his spouse, a son born the nineteenth current, named Henry Peter. Witnesses, Mr Archibald Hope, Royal Bank, and the Reverend Principal Robertson." The house occupied by Henry and Mrs Brougham after their marriage was the third or uppermost flat of a house at the corner of the Cowgate and West Bow, the windows fronting Candlemaker Row; it is described in the Directory as 8 Cowgatehead.[2] There Mrs Brougham's mother, Mrs Mary Syme, widow of

getfulness of what he himself had done or said but a short time before."—"Recollections and Suggestions." 1813-1873. By John, Earl Russell. London, 1875. 8vo. Page 139.

[1] "The Greyfriars Churchyard." By James Brown. Edinburgh, 1867. 12mo. Pages 333-4.

[2] Of the old dwelling in the Cowgate in which the future Chancellor was born is presented a well executed wood-engraving in Mr William Ballingall's "Edinburgh: Past and Present." 1877. 4to. Page 46.

Mr James Syme, minister of Alloa,[1] and sister of Principal Robertson, supplemented her slender provision by keeping a boarding-house. Among her other boarders was Henry Brougham, who then represented a commercial house, but who, on succeeding to Brougham Hall in Westmoreland a year or two subsequent to his marriage, was relieved of business anxieties, and also from the necessity of occupying with wife and child a humble tenement in the Cowgate. He removed to the third floor of No. 21 St Andrew Square, in the new town, and within the bounds of St Andrew's parish. There Mr Brougham continued to reside till his death, which took place on the 19th February 1810. His remains were deposited in the churchyard of Restalrig, where a plain tombstone erected by his widow denotes his grave.

In his "Life and Times" Lord Brougham presents a narrative which differs from these details. He remarks that his father came to Edinburgh under the auspices of the Earl of Buchan, whom he describes "as a very intimate friend of his grandfather." He proceeds—"To him my father was consigned in the hopes that, introduced by him to the best Edinburgh

[1] James Syme, eldest son of William Syme, minister of Tullynessle, tutor at Tullibody House, where he taught the afterwards famous Sir Ralph Abercromby, was appointed in 1750 to the charge of Alloa, and was admitted to the cure under a military escort on account of the opposition of the parishioners. He died 29th January 1783, at the age of thirty.

society, he might find occupation and distraction enough to dissipate his grief," occasioned by the unexpected death of Mary Whelpdale, a Westmoreland heiress, to whom he was betrothed. His lordship adds: "Accordingly, to Edinburgh he went, and there, among other distinguished personages, made the acquaintance of Dr Robertson, at whose house he met his eldest sister, then a widow, and her only child Eleanor. This ended in a marriage, and then my father and his bride moved to St Andrew Square, to the house in which Lord and Lady Buchan lived,[1] and there I was born on the 19th September 1778." In confirmation of his narrative as to the place of his birth, the ex-chancellor quotes "Notes about Henry," described as having in the year 1826 been written by his mother. "He (Henry)," "went to school before the 19th of September 1785, having been born on that day in the year 1778, at No. 21 north side of St Andrew Square."[2]

A marked peculiarity of Scotsmen descending from a Celtic ancestry is a desire to avenge their wrongs.

[1] The reader of the "Life and Times" is probably required to understand that the residence of the Broughams was part of the same mansion in which resided the elder brother of the Lord Chancellor Erskine, which Lord Buchan was. But the dwelling was simply the uppermost flat of a house the area part of which was occupied by Lord Buchan.

[2] "Life and Times of Henry, Lord Brougham, written by himself." Edinburgh, 1871. 3 vols., 8vo. Vol. I. pp. 3, 7, 55.

In the year 1573 two members of the University of St Andrews indulged a warfare in censorious rhymes. The assailant was Professor John Davidson, a zealous reformer, but of an infirm temper. He in verse described John Rutherford, Provost of St Salvator's College, as "an cruset guse"—that is a goose sitting on eggs and hissing at all who came near. Provost Rutherford resented in kind, but his rhymes have not been preserved. Both combatants were, by the General Assembly of March 1574, ordered to read their pasquinades in open court. A compromise followed, but Davidson, who by his versifying had also offended the Regent Morton, was prosecuted by that high functionary, and had to seek safety in flight.

Respecting Samuel Colville, author of the "Whig's Supplication, a mock poem," frequently printed, some curious particulars have been discovered. Third son of John Colville of Cardross, who in 1640 succeeded to the honours of Lord Colville, but who, owing to inadequacy of fortune, did not assume the title, he inherited a strong poetical tendency from his mother, Elizabeth Melville, daughter of Sir James Melville of Halhill, and whose "Godly Dream," a poem of 480 verses, is of no inconsiderable vigour. Samuel's elder brother, Dr Alexander Colville, was in 1642 appointed Professor of Hebrew in St Mary's College. Between Professor Colville and his university colleague, Samuel Rutherford, there existed an

acrimonious feeling, for the former adhered to the Resolutioners, and the latter consorted with the Protesters. The strife, which in 1652 had begun to wax keen, was intensified by pasquils, which were directed against Rutherford by Samuel Colville, who then resided in the city. As a member of the Kirk-session, Rutherford had his revenge. Through his interposition a statement as to Samuel's conduct was, by the Masters of St Salvator's College sought from the Kirksession of which he was a member. Their report was most pungent. Dated 18th August 1652, it thus proceeds :—

"Whereas the Masters of the Old Colledge have desired us to declare our knowledge concerning Mr Samuel Colvill, we, Ministers and Elders of the Kirksession of St Andrews do declare as follows : We never acknowledged the said Mr Samuel as a member of our congregation, not only because he had no testimonials of his good behaviour elsewhere, bot also because he did lye under the scandell of idlenes, carding, dyceing, swearing, lying, railing, and the lyke. Lykeas it hath been declared in the session by many members thereof, that during his abode in this toun he has been observed and found in carding by night, upsetting in taverns and ale-houses, haunting the most debased companie as his usual element, and in other forementioned disorders, so that his abode here was grievous to us; having been also some years ago, expelled this citie by the magistrates for his disorderlie carriage. These things we testify to be of truth, and ordain an extract hereof to be taken to the said Masters of the Old Colledge."

From the tenor of this report it appears that Samuel Colville had already left the place, a cir-

cumstance doubtless which facilitated the action of the court. Some years afterwards, when his relatives obtained the political ascendancy, he returned to the city, and then demanded from the Kirksession a copy of their libel. Having met on the 8th March 1660 to consider the application, the members agreed that he might inspect their register. Colville now complained to the Presbytery, and by that court he was referred to the Kirksession, which, on the 22nd March, resumed consideration of his case. Their deliverance, dated the 22nd March, proceeds thus :—

"The whilk day Mr Samuel Colvill did give in a paper shewing that he is referred by the Presbytery to the Session for a testimoniall, whereunto he received the following answer :—'In referring to the above-mentioned petition, we, Ministers and Elders of the Kirksession, doe testifie that the above-mentioned Mr Samuel Colvill hath remained bot a short tyme in this citie occasionallie of late, since August 16, 1653; and during that tyme the members of the Session, being posed particularlie, did answer unanimouslie that no scandall concerning him hath, in any publicke way, come to their knowledge, nor any dilation made to them thereanent.'"

As their former minute was still uncancelled, Colville requested the Kirksession to grant him "a testimoniall without any limitation of tyme." On the 29th March 1654 they supplied him with a copy of their original minute. This was met by a further demand on his part as to the "testimonie of what witnesses they knew those things to be true which they testified to be true by their judi-

ciall subscription." To this demand they made answer: "The civil judge having, at the instance of the petitioner, taken the process off our hand, and having examined witnesses upon oath thereanent, they cannot meddle further therein, but adhere to what they have formerlie testified." In 1681 he issued at London his "Mock Poem." The preceding narrative explains these lines which he ascribes to *the Squire*:—

Once at St Rule [1]
He forged records, and them enacted
To bear false witness when extracted
I cannot tell till I advise
Whether he did it twice or thrice.
Next, I will tell that he gave leave,
If ere he turned, to call him knave;
But he can challenge no reflection
Put on him at his own direction.
. . . . .
And I them tax'd of forg'd records,
As I can prove before the lords;
If that succeed not, it appears
Nor I be judged by my peers—
That is, by fifteen jurors—
Half fools, half beggars, half burlesquers.

As a sequel to the hitherto unrecorded controversy at St Andrews, may be added some particulars concerning the Colville brothers. At the Restoration the Professor, complying with Episcopacy, was appointed Principal of St Mary's College, in succession to Rutherford, while the poet, remaining true to his Presby-

[1] A local name applied to St Andrews.

terian convictions, published at Edinburgh in 1673, a work entitled "The Grand Impostor Discovered; or an Historical Dispute of the Papacy and Protestant Religion, Part I." From St Andrews Samuel Colville proceeded to France, for, according to John Cockburn, a contemporary verse-writer, whom he quotes in the preface to his "Mock Poem"—

> "Samuel was sent to France
> To learn to sing and dance
> And play upon a fiddle."

In an eccentric resistance to an undoubted wrong, another Scottish poet afforded at St Andrews early evidence of his powers. This was the celebrated Robert Fergusson. In 1766 Fergusson became a bursar, and was, as such, entitled to his board within the College. But the viands supplied by the Professors were coarse and mean. Dinner usually consisted of rabbits, served with rye. All the boarders grumbled; but as a professor presided daily, none ventured to complain. It was customary to ask the bursars to "say grace" in turn. When Fergusson's turn came, he expressed these rhymes:—

> "For rabbits young and for rabbits old,
> For rabbits hot and for rabbits cold,
> For rabbits tender and for rabbits tough,
> Our thanks we render—but we've had enough."

By the presiding professor Fergusson's outrage was reported to his colleagues, but it was ruled that the

offence should be condoned, and the rabbits withdrawn.

Not distant from the bounds of lunacy is the votary of prejudice. Dr Gilbert Stuart, historical writer, became embittered on account of failing to obtain a professorship at Edinburgh. He uttered anathemas on his country and on the city of Edinburgh, of which he was a native. To a literary persecution of Dr Robert Henry and Principal Robertson he devoted all the energies of his life. Against Robertson, whom he blamed for the loss of the university preferment he had aspired to, he cherished an inveterate hatred, which did not disappear under the shadow of death. When shortly before his departure, he was being tapped for dropsy, he instructed the physicians to bottle up the fluid, and to send it, with his compliments, to Principal Robertson.

The celebrated George Buchanan, severe in controversy, was otherwise benevolent. Devoted to the art of communicating knowledge he retained his love of teaching to an advanced age. A short time before his death he was waited upon at Edinburgh by his friend Mr Andrew Melville, who found him teaching his serving-boy the use of the alphabet. "You are not unemployed," said the visitor. "No," replied Buchanan, "better this than stealing sheep, or sitting idle, which is as ill."

John Barclay, the learned author of Argenis was

content to occupy an unwholesome dwelling, so that in the small garden attached, he might gratify his taste in raising tulips. He protected his flowers by placing in his garden two mastiffs as sentinels.

The Lord President Forbes, when he held office as Lord Advocate, conversed with the foreign ambassadors in Latin. About the age of forty, he secluded himself for two years, that he might acquire a knowledge of Hebrew, so as to read the Old Testament in the original.

Henry Prentice, who about the year 1746 introduced the field-culture of potatoes into the county of Edinburgh, had his coffin suspended in his bedroom. He also erected a gravestone to himself in the Canongate churchyard, bearing these lines :—

> "Be not curious to know how I lived,
> But rather how you yourself should die."

Instead of cherishing those domestic animals which usually attract the favour of the benevolent, Lord Gardenstone preferred as his companion a small pig. This creature rested at night upon his garments. A country neighbour had occasion to visit his lordship one morning, and was shown into his bedroom. Stumbling upon something, he was startled by a grunt, on which his lordship exclaimed : "It's just a bit sow, poor beast, and I laid my breeches on it to keep it warm." [1]

[1] "History of the Parish of Laurencekirk," by the Rev. W. R. Fraser, Edin. 1800, 12mo, p. 117.

Mr William Tytler of Woodhouselee, lawyer and historical writer, entertained a strong aversion to cheese on account of its smell. In order to ascertain whether his prohibition of its use in his household was the result of caprice or otherwise, a member of his family sewed up in his coat a slice of double Glo'ster. As he sat in court he perceived the smell of cheese, and rushing home to avoid the terrible infliction, expressed his apprehension that the whole world had conspired for his discomfort.

When Alexander Cruden, author of "The Concordance," was just recovered from a third attack of lunacy, and had regained freedom from restraint, he endeavoured to induce several relations who were instrumental in confining him to submit to imprisonment in Newgate as a compensation to him for the loss of his liberty. To his sister, to whom he was attached, he proposed the alternative of Newgate, Reading, and Aylesbury Jails, or the prison at Windsor Castle.

Thomas Campbell was haunted by a distressing melancholy. From his early associate, Professor Pillans, we received the following:—"I first knew Campbell about the year 1798—some considerable time before the publication of 'The Pleasures of Hope.' Soon after I made his acquaintance, he accompanied me to my father's house in Edinburgh, when he was in a state of the deepest depression—

so much so, indeed, that my father twitted me with bringing to the house one bordering on insanity. That was a part of his poetical temperament. He was, as Dryden describes fortune, always in extremes; hence when I next met him he was in the highest spirits, as his published poem had been received with encomiums. At the period of his severe depression at Edinburgh he was in the throes of composition, and often walked out alone, and in a state of abstraction."

The Rev. James Graham, author of "The Sabbath," believed that green was a colour detrimental or fatal to his sept; he in consequence prohibited the inmates of his dwelling from introducing under his roof any vestment of that hue.

The Rev. Sir Henry Moncreiff, Bart., was brought up in the rural manse of Blackford, and had contracted strong anti-ritualistic views from his progenitors, five of whom in succession were Presbyterian ministers. When minister of St Cuthbert's, he was in the habit of testifying his protest against the doctrine of consecrated buildings by walking the entire length of his church, from the vestry to the pulpit, with his head covered, removing his hat only when he reached the pulpit.

Mr William Auld, minister of Mauchline, though rigidly adhering to the austere modes of Genevan worship, could not resist a desire for personal adorn-

ment. His wig — conspicuous for its size — was decorated with numerous curls; it was humorously styled "the hundred and nineteenth psalm."

The Rev. Professor Kidd of Aberdeen, who, in addition to his professorial duties, was minister of Gilcomston Chapel of Ease, was alike humorous and eccentric. The following anecdote is related of him by Mr Sage:—

"The worthy Doctor was much annoyed by drowsy hearers. There was one man, clothed with a red waistcoat, who had got a seat directly under the Doctor's eye. This man began first of all to nod, showing that, if not fairly asleep, he was at least on the high way to it. 'Waken that man,' suddenly exclaimed the Doctor. The man was pinched and wakened up accordingly by his neighbours. But he was awakened only to fall asleep again, and more determinedly than before. 'I say again, waken that red-breasted sinner,' there, shouted the Doctor a second time, and a second time was the sleeper roused from his slumbers by his neighbouring and more watchful fellow-worshippers. But in a twinkling he was fast asleep a third time, and his worthy pastor's patience being fairly exhausted, he grasped a small pocket Bible lying at his hand, and sending it at the sleeper with an unerring aim, hit him on the side of his head. 'Now,' says he, 'sir, if you will not hear the Word of God, you shall feel it.' There was not a minister in the kingdom who could have ventured to give so striking a reproof."[1]

Mr James Chalmers, elder brother of the celebrated Dr Thomas Chalmers, who died in 1842, spent his life chiefly in London. Possessed of violent preju-

[1] "Memorabilia Domestica," by the Rev. Donald Sage, minister of Resolis. MS. ii. pp. 75-6.

dices, he conceived a strong aversion to his relatives, to the extent that he would open a special bottle of wine the day he heard of the death of a Scottish cousin. He would not go to hear his brother preach.[1]

To gratify his friends and satisfy the requirements of society, Sir Walter Scott kept his cellar full of the best wines, but he was incapable of estimating the value of wine of any sort; he could not distinguish between madeira and sherry, and considered port as a kind of physic.

Persons given to concentrated thought are, if under the necessity of using spectacles, most apt to misplace and lose them. Of an impatient nature, Sir David Brewster was in the habit of buying at a time twelve pairs of spectacles; these he distributed in the different rooms he was likely to frequent.

Dr David Laing, the antiquary, had a strong dislike to impressing on books a library stamp. In bequeathing to the University of Edinburgh his large collection of MSS., he specified that the bequest was made on the condition "that these were not stamped with lamp-black like books and MSS. elsewhere."

Among the jocundities of a former age prevailed a tendency to personation. The personations of Miss

[1] "Reminiscences," by Charles Cowan. Privately printed. Pp. 170-2.

Clementina Stirling Graham, chiefly in the assumed character of Lady Pitlyal, have been made familiar by the delightful volume of "Mystifications," edited by the ingenious Dr John Brown.

When George, fifth Duke of Gordon, was Marquis of Huntly, he impersonated the gaberlunzie. His success in this character being the subject of conversation in his presence, one of the company, a landowner, maintained that under no possible disguise could his lordship deceive him. Not long afterwards, as the landowner was walking in his avenue, a beggar came up, and, with becoming reverence, solicited alms. "Step into the hall," said the landowner, "and there see what can be got." The beggar expressed thanks, and, hirpling slowly towards the mansion, was in the hall supplied with abundant viands, and of excellent quality. Having partaken, he again drew near to the landowner in his walk. "Well, how have you fared?" asked the landlord. "Puirly," answered the beggar; "naething but stinkin' beef, soor bread, and stale beer." "Ungrateful rascal!" exclaimed the landlord, menacingly raising his walking-stick. Thereupon, the Marquis, throwing off his disguise, stood before him in his own costume. Colonel Sir Hugh Playfair, the restorer of St Andrews, took delight in odd impersonations. Many of his improvements were effected under night, when a form was seen which, inspiring alarm, removed from the scene all curious spectators.

Professor Edmondstoune Aytoun was an adept in the impersonating art. An instance of his passing himself off as a Highland chief is related in his memoirs by Sir Theodore Martin. His friend, Mr Peter Fraser, of Edinburgh, also excelled in the same walk. George Cruikshank, inimitable as a caricaturist, also impersonated skilfully. In the guise of an inebriated peasant he sung "Willie brewed a peck o' maut" with singular effect.

There existed a practice of literary reticence, which maintained a strange hold. While there were obvious reasons why the authorship of the Jacobite songs should be concealed, there were none to justify Lady Anne Barnard in not divulging the authorship of "Auld Robin Gray," or Lady Nairne in keeping secret that she composed "The Land o' the Leal."

Eccentricity has been evinced in the mode of spelling certain names. Dr David Irving, author of the "History of Scottish Poetry," and George Chalmers, author of "Caledonia," were not on friendly terms, but they cordially agreed in omitting from the word "Scottish" one of the t's. Even among well educated persons, imperfect orthography was peculiar to certain writers. James Boswell was an egregious offender; he constantly wrote smoke as *smoak*, and persisted in setting himself forth as the *freind* of Dr Johnson. Francis Garden, Lord Gardenstone, composed a work of travel, and

associated with men of letters, yet was unable to spell the most common words. In a short note of two lines, which on the 2nd December 1789, he addressed to Mr Charles Stewart, secretary of the Natural History Society of Edinburgh, he writes "*concurr*, *usefull*, *delightfull*, *faithfull*, *gratefull*, and *truely*."

John Pinkerton, the antiquary, was excessively opinionative. But he endeavoured to conceal his weakness both from himself and his friends by using in his correspondence, when he spoke in the first person, the small "i." From Kentish Town, writing to the Earl of Buchan on the 20th February 1782, he proceeds: "In arranging my materials for the history of Scotland, i find a remarkable deficiency in the reign of James the Second."

Ungrammatical writing is rare. A notable offender was Lady Scott (*née* Charlotte Charpentier), wife of Sir Walter Scott. When making arrangements for illuminating her house, 41 Castle Street, during the royal visit in 1822, she addressed her neighbour, James Wylie, of Annatfield, W.S., a note in these words: "Lady Scott, with compliments to Mr Wylie, will thank him to give her a call, if convenient, on Friday next, any time before 12 o'clock, when she hope to have it in her power to settled with him about the illumination."[1]

Recurring or stereotyped forms of expression were

[1] From the original letter.

formerly common. A late parochial clergyman wearied or afflicted his hearers both in his prayers and discourses with the ever-recurring phrase of "on this occasion." Another country pastor used in his discourses the phrase "be assured," till young persons computed how many times the utterance had been made. Captain Balme, the friend of Dean Ramsay, in answering every remark, accompanied his reply with the words, "if I may be allowed the language." Being asked how Mrs Balme was, he replied, "Quite well, I thank you, if I may be allowed the language." But unchecked habits of manner and phrase have proved positively mischievous. A Scottish gentleman, who had fallen into the habit of crooning, paid a visit of condolence to the widow of a neighbour. Having expressed his sympathy in becoming words, he unconsciously proceeded to croon a merry and well-known air. A gentlewoman, who was in the habit of ejaculating the words "How very absurd," having been informed by a friend that she had just received the sad news that her husband was barbarously murdered in India, straightway gave forth her stereotyped expression. The utterance, implying as it did an utter heartlessness or unperturbed formality, broke off the friendship. A landowner in Fife, who was extremely deaf, and desired to conceal his infirmity, answered every remark in an undertone, "Yes; no." It led to an occasional awkwardness, as when

was made the remark, "You would be grieved that poor Mr Thomson has lost all his four children by scarlet fever," he made his wonted ejaculation.

Dr Haldane, Principal of St Mary's College, repeated his words in conversation twice or thrice, such as "eh, eh," "very good, very good." Laird White of Forfarshire incessantly accompanied his sentiments with the phrases, "eh, eh," "what d'ye say?" "what's y'er wull," "what, what." Laird Allan of Bonnytoun emphasized his words by tapping on the knee or shoulder the person with whom he talked. Scribes and register-keepers of former centuries had a fancy for making grotesque figures and flourishes on the spare leaves of the registers. In the "Acta Dominorum Concilii," 1543-1529, the clerk has on a fly-leaf inscribed the following lines of verse:—

"In the Mone.

"Euery wicht that is in erd present,
Wareis thair weird on fortoun fast thai cry;
For quha hes riches thai hald thame nocht content;
And quha is puire thai wyte thair destany,
Swa nane of thir levis contentitly.
Thairfoir I will cast all my diligence,
Becaus that nalder reche nor pure am I;
Best is to be content with sufficence."

Across two blank leaves of the Register of Deeds, 1671-1684 (Dalrymple office), a clerk thus condemns his own inadvertence:—

"There were two leaves turned through mistake,
For which my head should have been brake."

William Fraser, keeper of the Dalrymple Register of Deeds, commemorates his labours in 1711 with the words, "William Fraser beginns and ends this book, as witnesses his foolish hand;" while in 1721 he concludes a volume thus, "Finis magni laboris, quod attestor W. Fraser."

CHAPTER XIX.

FOLKLORE.

Ancient Eastern nations, we have seen, used a system of lustration ; they dedicated fountains to the sun. By the ancient Persians water was worshipped ; it is so now among the Hindus. The river Indus was a god, and the Ganges remains an object of veneration. The savage tribes of America worship the spirit of the waters, and, according to Gildas, the Britons rendered homage to streams and springs.

Worship of the water was performed less by bodily prostrations or the use of verbal forms than by propitiatory offerings. Seneca relates that on solemn festivals the priests threw brass money into the springs of the Nile, while on these occasions persons of opulence deposited in the waters portions of gold. Describing the sacred spring of the Clitumnus, Pliny remarks that it was so pellucid that one might count the pieces of money thrown into it which rested at the bottom.

Small coins have been found in the consecrated fountains both of Wales and Scotland. When in 1870 St Querdon's Well, in the parish of Troqueer,

Kirkcudbrightshire, was cleaned and put in order, several hundred copper coins were found at the bottom. Of these the oldest were of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; but owing to the extreme thinness of the earlier coins, it was evident that those deposited at an earlier date must have rusted away. Some of the later coins belonged to the reign of George III. But votive offerings at wells have more generally consisted of objects of personal ornament or portions of wearing apparel. Hanway, in his "Travels,"[1] describes the practice of rag-offering at wells as common in Persia; while Mungo Park relates that he had found it existing among some African tribes. Alike in the East and West, when portions of garments were used, these were deposited by the margins of the fountains, or attached to the boughs of small trees or plants which grew in their vicinity. And so recently as the year 1860, Dr Arthur Mitchell, when travelling in northern Scotland, found at the Well of Craiguck, in Ross-shire, a bush hanging over the fountain of which the branches were hung with bits of clothing, deposited by those who had made visits to the spring.[2] St Anthony's Well, near Edinburgh, is still resorted to by aged persons, in the belief that by its use their complaints may be alleviated. Faith in the supernatural

[1] Hanway's Travels, vol. i., pp. 15-19.

[2] Proceedings of Scottish Society of Antiquaries, iv., 269.

power of healing ascribed to ancient wells partially arose from the virtues of mineral springs. These virtues were recognised by the physicians of ancient Greece, who recommended mineral waters to those suffering from cutaneous and other diseases. By the Romans the efficacy of mineral springs was well understood. There exists evidence that among a portion of our own countrymen the qualities of medicinal springs were intelligently estimated. Owing to severe exposure in adverse times, King Robert the Bruce was seized with a scorbutic disorder, which was described as "leprosy." While encamped in the vicinity of Ayr, he there had recourse to a mineral spring, by the use of which he was healed. In token of gratitude, when as a sovereign he attained the full exercise of his authority, he reared at the spot an hospital, which he also endowed for the support of eight "lepers," or persons suffering from eczema or skin disease, who might resort to the place to seek benefit from the waters. St Catherine's, or the Balm Well of Liberton, was held efficacious in some cutaneous ailments; it was by command of James VI., who visited it in 1617, enclosed with an ornamental building. This has recently been restored.

By the Britons certain wells were held to have been dug by demons for the destruction of mankind. Adamnan mentions a well in Pictland which was under the control of a malignant deity,

whoever touched its waters being seized with leprosy or some other disorder. Through the influence of St Columba, who invoked a blessing upon it, the fountain became remedial and health-imparting.[1] Hence on the part of some arose the notion that by a votive offering the demon of the fountain was propitiated.

In a paper on "Holy Wells" in Scotland, contributed to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries[2] in 1883, Mr J. Russel Walker has enumerated about six hundred dedicated to saints, and furnished drawings of such as in modern times have been enclosed by masonry. Not improbably one or more of these holy pools existed in every parish. Dr Joseph Anderson has enumerated the following :—

St Adamnan's, at Dull and Forglen ; St Aidan's, at Menmuir ; St Aidan's, at Fearn ; St Baldred's Pool, at Prestonkirk ; St Bride's Wells, at Dunsyre and Beith ; St Colb's Well, at Menmuir ; St Colman's, at Kiltearn ; St Caran's, at Drumlithie ; St Columba's, in Eilan na Naoimh and in Eigg ; St Fechin's or St Vigeans, at Grange of Conon, in Forfarshire ; St Devenick's, at Methlick ; St Donnan's in Eigg ; St Ethan's in Burghead ; St Fergus's, at Glammis ; St Fillan's Wells, at Struan, St Fillans, Largs, etc. ; St Mair's Well, at Beith ; St Irnie's, at Kilrenny ; St Mungo's (Kentigern's) Wells, at Penicuik and Peebles ; St Maelrubha's Well, on Innis Maree ; St Marnock's at Aberchirder ; St Mirren's at Kilsyth ; St Medin's, at Airlie ; St Modan's, at Ardchattan ; St Mulnag's at Mortlach ; St Muriel's, at Rathmuriell

[1] "Adamnan's Life of Saint Columba," Edinburgh, 1874, 8vo, pp. 45, 159.

[2] Proceedings of Scottish Society of Antiquaries, vol. v., new series, pp. 152-210.

in the Garioch; St Nathalan's at Old Meldrum; St Ninian's Wells, at Lamington, Arbroath, Stirling, etc.; St Patrick's Well, at Muthil; St Ronan's Well, at the Butt of Lewis; St Serfs', at Monzievaird; and St Wallach's, in the parish of Glass, Aberdeenshire.[1]

Holy Wells were held to operate variously. Some were believed to produce an instant cure, others to be remedial by a process slow and nearly imperceptible. Certain springs were regarded as efficacious in cases of insanity; of these the most renowned was the Well of St Fillan. Patients were dipped in this well, and were afterwards laid bound with cords in a chapel of the Saint, which stood near. In the chapel they were compelled to remain during the night, and in the morning their heads were touched with a hand-bell dedicated to St Fillan, when the cure was completed. For the cure of insanity the Well of Maelrubha on Innis Maree was in considerable repute. The patient was brought into the sacred island, and after kneeling before the altar was conducted to the well, and made to sip of the holy water. Next he was thrice dipped in the lake, and the process was repeated for a course of weeks. Thereafter, as a conclusive act, the patient was by his attendants attached to a boat and rowed round the island. To the well at Struthill, near Muthil, were borne lunatic patients. It was also frequented for

[1] "Scotland in the Early Christian Times," by Joseph Anderson. First Series. Edin., 1881. 8vo. Pp. 193-4.

the cure of hooping-cough. The spring of Tobar-na-demhurnich was held to denote whether a sick person would overcome his complaint. From this well water was drawn before sunrise, and the patient was immersed in it. The water was then examined. If it remained clear, the patient was likely to recover; when its purity was sullied, death was regarded as near. The spring of Balmanno, in Kincardineshire, was believed to supernaturally restore impaired eyesight, and to render delicate infants strong and healthy. A well in the isle of Gigha, in Argyllshire, known as Tobar-rath-bhuathaig, *the lucky Well of Bethag*, and situated at the base of a hill near the Isthmus of Tarbat, was believed to govern the wind. Six feet above the spot from which the water flowed there was a heap of stones, which formed a cover to the fount. When a visitor desired to procure a fair wind he opened the entrance by removing the stones, and cleared out the water with a shell or wooden dish. The water was then thrown in the direction from which the wind was desired to blow, the action being accompanied by a certain form of words. On the close of the ceremony the well was carefully closed, for if it was left open, it was held that a storm would ensue which might overwhelm the island.[1]

To south-running water extraordinary virtues were attributed. When a sick person was unable to drink

[1] Forsyth's "Beauties of Scotland, vol. v. p. 529.

of it freely his night-dress was cast into it, and then thrown about his person. Water drawn under a bridge "over which the living walked and the dead were carried" was regarded as especially remedial; it was conveyed at dawn or twilight to the house of the invalid, who was expected to drink of it before the bearer addressed him. It was essential for the success of the charm, that the bearer had been silent on his way to and from the stream, and that he had not permitted the water-vessel to rest upon or even touch the ground. If the sick person was unable or unwilling to use this charm, it was supposed to operate when the water was thrown upon his dwelling.

One of the caves at Wemyss, in Fifeshire, which contains a well of water, was early in the present century visited on the first Monday of January, old style, by young persons of the neighbourhood, who in their hands bore burning torches. From an "Account of the Presbytery of Penpont" in Macfarlane's MSS. the following was transcribed by Sir Walter Scott:—

"In the bounds of the lands of Eccles, belonging to a lyneage of the name of Maitland, there is a loch, called the Dowloch, of old resorted to with much superstition, as medicinal both for men and beasts, and that with such ceremonies, as are shrewdly suspected to have been begun with witchcraft, and increased afterward by magical directions. Forthbringing of a cloth, or somewhat that did relate to the bodies of men and women, and a shackle or teather, belonging to cow or horse; and these being cast into the loch, if they did float, it was a great omen of recovery, and a part of the

water carried to the patient, though to remote places, without saluting or speaking to any they met by the way; but if they did, the recovery of the party was hopeless. This custom was of late much curbed and restrained; but since the discovery of many medicinal fountains near the place, the vulgar, holding that it may be as medicinal, as these are, at this time began to re-assume their former practice."

At the Reformation the civil and ecclesiastical authorities sought to check superstitious pilgrimages to wells. A public statute was passed in 1579 prohibiting such pilgrimages, and in 1624 the Privy Council appointed certain commissioners to wait at Christ's Well in Menteith on the first of May, and to seize and imprison in the Castle of Doune those who there superstitiously assembled. By the church the custom of superstitiously frequenting wells was emphatically denounced, transgressors being subjected to a rigorous discipline.

Distempers in cattle were believed to be cured when the ailing animals drank water in which the *leugan* or weird stones had been dipped. Of these stones the most celebrated is the Lee Penny, a triangular piece of crystal, measuring half an inch on each side, and set in a silver coin. It is associated with the following legend:—Sir Simon Lockhart, of Lee, accompanied Sir James Douglas in 1329 when he was bearing to Palestine the heart of King Robert the Bruce. In course of the journey Sir Simon took prisoner a Saracen chief, whose wife tendered a large

sum as his ransom. In counting the money, she dropped a gem, and showed such alacrity in picking it up that the knight's curiosity was aroused. Informed of its virtues, he refused to release the chief unless the gem was added to the ransom money. The lady reluctantly complied, and hence the talisman became the property of the Lee family.

During the seventeenth century, the superstitious use of the Lee Penny became common, and in consequence the Presbytery of Lanark sought advice from the Provincial Synod. In the following minute of Synod the result is detailed :—

"Apud Glasgow, the 25th October, Session 2d. Quhilk daye amongst the referies of the brethren of the ministrie of Lanark, it was proposit to the Synode, that Gawen Hammiltoune of Raploch, had preferit ane complaint before them against Sir Thomas Lockhart of Lee, anent the superstitious using of ane stone set in silver for the curing of diseased cattle, quhilk the said Gawen affirmed could not be lawfullie used ; and that they had deferit to give any desissane therein till the advise of the Assemblie might be heard concerning the same. The Assemblie having inquirit of the maner of using thereof, and particularlie understood the examinatione of the said Laird of Lee, and otherwise, that the custom is onlie to cast the stone in some water, and give the diseasit cattel thereof to drink, and that the same is done without using onie words, such as charmers use in their unlawful practices ; and considering that in nature there are monie thinges sein to work strange effect, quhairof no humane skill can give ane reason, it having pleasit God to give unto stones and herbes a special virtue for the healing of mony infirmities in man and beast—advise the brethren to surcease their process, as quhairin they can perceive no ground of offence ; and admonishes the said Laird of Lee in

the using of the said stone, to tak heid it be usit heir-after with the least scandall that possible may be."

The Lee Penny was supposed to be remedial in cases of hydrophobia. About the middle of last century Lady Baird of Saughton Hall was bit by a mad dog. Her ladyship's relatives at once despatched a messenger to Lee Castle for a loan of the charmed crystal, which was granted. Of the water into which the amulet had been dipped, Lady Baird drank copiously, and as the malady remained undeveloped, she was held as cured. The Lee Penny has ceased to be an object of superstition.

A charmed stone is preserved by the family of Stewart of Ardvoirlich. In size and shape it resembles a large egg, and is similar to the jewel in the national sceptre. According to tradition the arch-druid wore the gem as his badge of office. Highland graziers make long journeys to procure for their distempered cattle water in which it had been dipped. In Galloway, several round flat stones, about five inches in diameter and artificially perforated, were used, within the recollection of persons now living, for the cure of distemper in horses. One of the stones was placed in a tub of water, and the ailing animal was sprinkled with the liquor. Pennant found that crystal stones were, by the inhabitants of the Hebrides, used in charming water and imparting to it a healing efficacy.

A crystal, believed to possess rare virtues, is pos-

sessed by the Campbells of Glenlyon. Highlanders attribute Bruce's success at Bannockburn to the influence of a crystal charm. In his Life of St Columba, Adamnan relates that Broichan, one of the Scottish magi whom the saint had visited with a deadly sickness on account of his having enslaved a Christian female, was cured by drinking water in which was placed a white pebble from the Ness.

By other superstitious modes water was held to become health-restoring. Water taken from the tops of three waves was in Shetland believed to cure toothache, and in the isle of Tiree water taken from the tops of nine waves, and in which nine pebbles from the shore have been boiled, is held to be remedial in jaundice; it is applied externally, the clothes of the patient being dipped in the bath and put on undried. In a chapel dedicated to St Columba, in Flodda Chuan, one of the Western Isles, a blue round stone rested upon the altar, and when fishermen were detained in the isle by contrary winds, they washed the stone with water, thereby hoping to propitiate the genius of the storm.

Seamen and fishermen are especially prone to superstition. The seamen of Shetland, in tempestuous weather, throw a piece of money into the window of a ruinous chapel dedicated to St Ronald, in the belief that the saint will allay the vehemence of the storm. At Cockenzie, a fishing village in

Haddingtonshire, no fisherman ventures out to sea when in his progress towards the beach a lame person or a pig crosses his path. And when going out, or coming into port, any of their number uses an oath, the first who hears it calls out "auld airn," while each makes an effort to touch any portion of iron in the boat, so as to counteract ill-luck that might otherwise ensue. Shetland fishermen profess to foretell, from knots in the bottom boards of a boat, whether or not she would be fortunate at the fishing, be upset under sail, or be cast away. On their way to the boats the fishermen of Orkney are careful to avoid meeting anyone supposed to be unlucky, especially the clergyman. If a northern sailor trod on the tongs, or was asked where he was going on his way to his boat, it was held useless for him that day to proceed with his avocation. When afloat the Shetland mariner was careful not to turn the boat *withershins*, that is, against the course of the sun. When setting their lines, Shetland sailors avoid mentioning certain objects except by some special words and phrases. Thus, a knife is called *skunie* or *tullie*, a church *buanhoos* or *banehoos*; a minister *upstanda*, *haydeen*, or *prestingolva*; the devil, *da Auld Chield*, *da sorrow*, *da ill-healt* (health), or *da black tief*; a cat, *kirser*, *fitting*, *vengla*, or *foodin*.[1]

When on hauling in their lines Shetland sailors found

[1] Gregor's Folklore, p. 299.

that a stone was brought up, it was carefully carried to the shore, since it was deemed unlucky to throw it back into the sea. Among them it was held wrong to name a cat to any fisherman when he was baiting his lines, and if any mischievous person called to a seaman when on his way to his boat, "There's a cat in your bundle," his fishing for the day was spoiled. When a sailor returned with an inferior supply of fish, his wife would kick the bundle round the room, and administer to him a severe rating, in the belief that this course would induce improved luck.

By seamen poultry are held as bad shipmates, being likely to raise a storm. The appearance of a shark is dreaded ; in the wake of a ship it is held to indicate the death of someone on board. Petrels are regarded as messengers of death. In Orkney and the Hebrides seamen formerly believed that drowned persons were changed into seals. The existence of mermaids is credited by Shetland seamen ; and by those of the Western Isles, mermaids are supposed to kidnap children. Macphee, the chief of Colonsay, remarked a beautiful damsel washing her locks on an isolated rock at some distance from the shore. Launching a swift boat, and fetching a compass, he surprised the angel of the deep by coming suddenly behind her. A sealskin was lying on the rock, which he immediately seized. Perceiving that her robe was gone, the ocean nymph was much confused, but Mac-

phee gallantly covered her with his plaid; he then placed her in his boat and rowed to shore. Taking her to his castle, she became his wife.

Shetland fishermen disenchant their boats in this fashion:—The cavity or tap-hole is filled with water supplied by the mistress of the craft. Next the boat is rowed out to sea before sunrise, and a waxen figure burnt in it just as daylight begins to appear, the master of the vessel exclaiming "Go hence, Satan." Shetland seamen still purchase favourable winds from elderly women, who pretend to rule or to modify the storms. There are now in Lerwick several old women who in this fashion earn a subsistence. Many of the survivors of the great storm of the 20th July 1881, so fatal on northern coasts, assert that their preservation was due to warnings which they received through a supernatural agency.

Till the present century it was, among the seamen of Orkney and Shetland, deemed unlucky to rescue persons from drowning, since it was held as a matter of religious faith, that the sea is entitled to certain victims, and if deprived would avenge itself on those who interfered.[1]

With the concerns of domestic life superstitious omens were largely associated. If coom hung from the bars of the grate, a stranger's arrival was foretokened. Should the coom drop off by the clapping

[1] Tudor's "Orkney and Shetland," Lond. 1880, p. 176.

of the hands, the stranger was simply to call and then to pursue his journey. There is a superstition among domestic servants that it is unlucky to leave off making a bed before completing it—the least evil to be apprehended being that the person for whom the bed is made will during the following night be deprived of rest.

Respecting the superstitions of Selkirkshire, the Ettrick Shepherd presents these details:—"When persons sneeze in first stepping out of bed in the morning, they are thence certified that strangers will be there in the course of the day, in numbers corresponding to the times they sneeze; and if a feather, or straw, or any such thing be observed hanging at a dog's nose or beard, they call this a guest, and are sure that a stranger is approaching. If at the dog's nose it hangs long the visitor is to remain for a long time, but if it falls instantly away, the visitor is hastily to depart. From the length of this guest they determine what will be the size of the real one, and from its shape whether it will be a man or a woman; and they watch carefully on what part of the floor it drops, since it is on that very spot the stranger will sit. And there is scarcely a shepherd in the whole country who, if he chances to find one of his flock dead on a Sabbath, is not thence assured that he will have two or three more in the course of the week. During the season the ewes are milked,

the bught door is always carefully shut at even, and the reason assigned for this is, that when it is negligently left open, the witches and fairies never miss the opportunity of dancing in it all night."[1] With the domestic animals were associated peculiar notions. In leaving the house on business, if a cat crossed the path there was to be lack of speed. The first person on whom a cat leaped after crossing a dead body was doomed to blindness. With the howling of a dog during the night was associated mischance. The isles of Eynhallow and Damisay in the Orkneys, and the isles of Havera, Hascosea, and Uyea in Shetland, are supposed in the soil to possess some magical charm, which prevents their being infested with mice. For the removal of vermin soil is borne from these islands to distant localities.

Birds are included in the rites of superstition. To the peasantry the owl is an object of aversion. The bones of certain birds sewed into the clothes are believed to preserve the health, and the feathers of a wild fowl placed in the pillow of a dying person are supposed to prolong his life. In the north-western highlands, when the life of a sick person was despaired of, a cock was sacrificed, and buried at the foot of the patient's bed. For the cure of epilepsy, a live cock was buried with a lock of the invalid's hair and the parings of his

[1] Notes to Hogg's poem, "The Mountain Bard."

nails — a barbarous usage which has not wholly ceased.[1] The numbers of magpies seen at a time is an augury of various fortunes as expressed in the rhyme—

"One's sorrow—two's mirth;
Three's a wedding—four's death;
Five a blessing—six hell;
Seven the deil's ain sel'!"

There is a prejudice against the yellow-hammer, expressed in the following rhyme :—

"Hauf a puddock, hauf a taed,
Hauf a yellow-yeldrin',
Gets a drap of the devil's bluid
Ilka May morning."

The prejudice against the yellow-hammer is believed to have originated owing to the birds having by their cries discovered to the troopers the retreats of hiding Covenanters. The curlew is obnoxious probably from the same cause.

There are superstitious observances connected with insects and the ordinary animals. The lady-bird, or "Lady Lanners," was among the lowland peasantry used to discover future partners. When a schoolboy

[1] For the cure of epilepsy and madness the Moors and Negroes of Algeria drown a cock in a sacred well. The cock was in Egypt sacrificed to Osiris, the Apollo of the Greeks. The superstitions associated with the cock in Pagan worship were tolerated by the early Christians.

found the insect he placed it on his palm, and repeated these lines till it flew off—

"Lady, Lady Lanners,
Lady, Lady Lanners,
Tak' up your cloak about your head,
An' flee awa to Flanners;
Flee ower frith, and flee ower fell,
Flee ower pule and rinnin' well,
Flee ower muir, and flee ower mead,
Flee ower livin, flee ower dead,
Flee ower corn, and flee ower lea,
Flee ower river, flee ower sea;
Flee ye east, or flee ye west,
Flee till him that loe's me best."

In Shetland it was held that a plague of moths will infest the house into which a woman newly risen from childbed enters without being invited to eat and drink. In the same region, a drink of water in which a stone found in the stomach of a cod has been boiled is held to be a preventive of sea-sickness, while the scum that rises from slugs kept in a bottle is described as a cure for rickets. The foot of a mole kept in his purse secured the lowlander against want of money. With the bones of animals the peasant inhabitants of Morayshire practised divination. Having picked the flesh from a shoulder of mutton, they turned towards the east, and looking steadfastly on the bone, conceived themselves able to anticipate the future. The head of a fox nailed to the stable door protected horses from the influence of an evil power. In Shet-

land, the counting of cattle or sheep or horses belonging to an individual was supposed to bring bad luck to him. Consequent on a superstitious dislike to enumeration of any kind, the census returns are obnoxious to the islanders.

In securing "luck" and averting "skaith" amulets were used. Of these, the more generally reputed was the whorl of the primitive spinner, known as an "adder-stone;" and the celt and arrow-head of the stone age, described as "thunderbolts" and "elf-darts." A pear, supposed to have been enchanted by Hugh Gifford, Lord of Yester, a notable magician in the reign of Alexander III., is preserved in the family of Broun of Colston, as heirs of Gifford's estate. So long as the pear is preserved, the family, it is held, will continue to prosper. It is alleged that the Earl of Gowrie, celebrated as chief in the Gowrie conspiracy, wore on his person as a charm the word *tetragrammaton*, written upon parchment.

In northern districts it was believed that pregnant women were by a toadstone preserved from the power of demons. For the cure of epilepsy the people of Caithness, also of the Western Isles, made the patient drink from a cup formed of a suicide's skull. Only a few years ago an epileptic youth, in the vicinity of Kirkwall, was treated in this manner. A skull was exhumed from a graveyard, and a portion of it being ground to powder, was mixed with water and given

to the patient. For the restoration of one suffering from fever the nails of his fingers and toes were pared, and the parings placed in a rag cut from his clothes; the rag was then waved round his head, when a cure was believed to ensue. In the north-western Highlands erysipelas was cured by cutting off a portion of a cat's ear, and dropping the animal's blood on the part affected. In Shetland, a stitch in the side was cured by applying to the part mould dug from a grave, and heated in a saucepan. Mould to be so used it was held essential should be taken from and returned to the grave after sunset. In northern counties a sprain was supposed to be relieved when around the affected joint was fastened a thread bearing nine knots. Madness was cured by the use of the Barbreck bone, a small portion of ivory, formerly in the possession of Campbell of Barbreck, and now deposited in the museum of the Scottish Antiquaries. In north-western districts, fatuous persons, who are supposed to suffer from "an evil eye" having fallen upon them in childhood, are sprinkled with water in which a silver or gold coin has been dipped. By a superstitious process the inhabitants of Orkney transfer diseases from one party to another. A patient is washed, and the water used in the act of ablution is thrown down at a gateway, on which the disease is believed to seize the first person who passes through, to the relief of the original sufferer. In

Shetland it is held that when a sick person describes his ailment, the listener is apt to have the distemper conveyed to himself except he spits covertly. In northern counties a belief prevails that scrofulous complaints yield to the touch of a seventh son, accompanied by an invocation of the Trinity. At perforated monoliths the natives of the Hebrides formerly sought help in rheumatic ailments. They held that rain could be produced by touching the Runic Cross at Brora. A cave in a steep rock in front of Kinnoull Hill in Perthshire, known as the Dragon-hole, was believed to contain a stone which would render invisible the person holding it. Green pebbles picked up at Iona were supposed to derive an influence from St Columba, and to be valuable as amulets. Barren women passed their hands through the holes of the Bore Stone at Gask in order to obtain children, and with the same hope used to make pilgrimages to the Monastery of St Adrian, in the Isle of May. By joining hands through the perforated stone of Odin at Loch Stennis, lovers became pledged to fidelity, and the sacredness of the vow was recognised by the church courts.[1]

[1] Principal Gordon, of the Scots College of Paris, who visited Orkney in 1781, relates that about twenty years previously the elders of the Kirksession of Sandwick were particularly severe on a young man brought before them for seduction on account of his having broken "the promise of Odin."—"Wilson's Prehistoric Annals," Edinburgh, 1851, 8vo, pp. 100, 101; Dr Arthur Mitchell's "Past in the Present," p. 155.

Under certain conditions salt was an effective charm. Thrown over the left shoulder it averted strife. At removals the salt-box was borne first to the new dwelling. When in the autumn of 1789 Robert Burns was about to take possession of the farmhouse at Ellisland, which had been reared for his accommodation, a family procession to the place was conducted along the banks of the Nith from his lodging at the Isle, half a mile distant. In this procession was borne a bowl of salt resting upon the family Bible. When the character of an ailment was unknown, salt was placed on an old sixpence borrowed from a neighbour; it was then melted in a tablespoonful of water. The coin was put into the solution, and the soles of the patient's feet and the palms of his hands moistened three times with the liquid. The patient was made to taste the mixture thrice, and his brow was stroked with it. Then the solution which remained in the spoon was thrown over the fire, as were reverently uttered the words, "Lord preserve us fra a' skaith." The cure was now held to be complete.

Distempered cattle were formerly held to be benefited by "kindling needfire"—that is, producing fire by the friction of two sticks rubbed against each other. Juniper burned near a herd of cattle was supposed to propitiate the evil powers and avert distemper. When any of the cattle suffered from a

complaint, the precise character of which could not be discovered, the owner of the herd repeated the following spell :—

I charge thee for arrowschot,
For doorschot, for windowschot,
For eyeschot, for tungschot,
For liverschot, for lungschot,
For hertschot, all the maist,
In the name of the Father, the Sone, and the Haly Gaist,
To wend out the flesche and bane
Into stock and stane,
In the name of the Father, the Sone, and the Haly Gaist.

In Orkney, when the milk of a cow has lost its original qualities, it is held to be affected by "an evil eye," and a cure is believed to follow when the animal is made to drink water from a well used by the delinquent. Women in the island of St Kilda are in the habit of putting a small flower into the pail when they go to milk their cows and ewes to keep the milk from being bewitched by an "evil eye."

The colour of red was sacred to Thor, the god of lightning. Red-eyed persons were suspected of witchcraft. Before turning out their cattle to the grass in spring, Highland women tied a piece of red thread round their cows' tails to protect them from *skaith*. And in Aberdeenshire portions of rowan-trees and red woodbine were put over the doors of cow-houses to prevent witches from taking away the cows' milk. In northern districts a branch of the rowan-tree was

placed over the door of the farmer's dwelling, after it had been waved while the words, "Avaunt, Satan," were pronounced reverently.

Gipsies entertain peculiar superstitions. They attach weirds to the forms of clouds, the flight of wild birds, and the *sough* of the wind. Should they meet persons of unlucky aspects, they turn back from their journeys, and in their summer peregrinations wait some propitious omen of their fortunate return. They burn the clothes of their dead, under a belief that the wearing of them would shorten the days of the living. They believe that "the deil tinkles" at the lykewake of those who in the death-throes had experienced the anguish of remorse.

In connection with births and baptisms certain superstitious rites have already been adverted to.[1] In Orkney the mother and her new-born child were *sained*—that is, rescued from peril by the following process. The bed being drawn into the centre of the floor, the nurse thereafter waved round the bed an open Bible three times for each person of the Holy Trinity. When in the child's petticoat was stuck a silver brooch, Satanic influence was also repelled. In Badenoch, when an infant yawns, an evil influence is supposed to be at work, which may be counteracted by the act of spitting in the child's face. In Shetland, when an infant is teething, it is held that

[1] See vol. i., pp. 135-137.

live peats for kindling should not be given to a neighbour, otherwise the child's teeth will stop growing. A child which was passed through the perforated stone of Odin at Loch Stennis, in Orkney, was believed to be through life preserved from paralysis. In northern counties it is held that when a child is baptized, the drops of water are not to be wiped from the brow, and it is regarded as a bad omen if the child does not answer to its name by screaming when the water is sprinkled.

Certain social customs which obtained at bridals have been already alluded to.[1] In Orkney it is held that a bridegroom should not venture upon the ocean. At the ceremonial of the bridegroom's feet-washing a ring was thrown, which was scrambled for by those present, the finder being supposed the first to be married. In northern parts it was deemed unlucky for a bridal party to meet a funeral procession. After marriage it was unlucky to enter at one door and go out at the other. The spouse who slept first on the marriage night was held to be the first to die.

The practice of forbearing to marry in May obtains in various countries, and is of ancient origin. Remotely associated with the rites of Baal, the month in popular superstition was regarded as that in which the fairies obtained a special ascendancy.

When a marriage was solemnised on Saturday, it

[1] See vol. i., pp. 106-124.

was held that one of the spouses would die within the year, or that the marriage would be unfruitful. In northern counties, on the morning of the marriage, a silver coin was placed in the heel of the bridegroom's stocking, and at the church door the shoe-tie of his right foot was unloosed, and a cross drawn in the door-post. Among the Highland peasantry every knot in the apparel of the bride and bridegroom is untied prior to the nuptial ceremony, and when the bride reaches the threshold of her future home she is lifted over it.

In the West Highlands and in the Hebrides there is a prevailing belief that ringworm can be cured by rubbing it over and around with a woman's marriage ring. In allusion to this superstition, Dr Alexander Stewart writes thus :—[1]

"Riding home one evening, we observed two little girls and a sturdy long-legged hafflin lad sitting patiently in front of a cottage, the door of which was shut and locked. The youngsters, rather better dressed than usual, had come from a considerable distance, and we wondered what they could be doing there. On mentioning the matter next day, we had the story in full :—The three were suffering from ringworm. The owner of the cottage has a marriage ring of wonderful efficacy in curing this epidermic distemper. They had come from one of the inland glens to be operated upon; but the possessor of the ring was away in Glasgow, and only returned home by steamer late that evening. When she did arrive the young people were duly manipulated

[1] "Nether Lochaber," by the Rev. Alexander Stewart, Edin., 1883, 8vo, pp. 74-5.

and ring-rubbed *secundum artem;* and in four-and-twenty hours thereafter we were gravely assured they were quite healed. Any gold ring is usually employed, but the particular ring referred to in this case is much sought after on such occasions, because, as our informant said, it is of "guinea gold," by which we suppose very pure gold, with the least possible alloy, is meant, and because it is the property of a widow who was married to one husband more than fifty years."

In our chapter on practices connected with death and burial, we have referred to certain superstitious usages associated with these events.[1] Prognostications of death varied in different districts. When a northern highlander experienced an itching of the nose, he became satisfied that he would lose a neighbour by death; the death of a male was indicated when the sensation was felt in the left nostril. In southern districts a tinkling in the ear was held as a sign that the death of a relative was near. The cock crowing at an untimely hour was believed to foretoken the death of some one in the locality. When a strange dog howled round a house, the lowlander accepted the occurrence as an omen that the angel of death was approaching. "A dede candle," or supernatural light, was in the western isles believed to be seen moving to the churchyard from the dwelling of one about to die. In Orkney when, in washing her husband's clothes in a stream, a woman sees his trousers fill with water, she regards the occurrence

[1] See vol. i., pp. 153-161.

as a portent of his approaching death. In some parts of the highlands it is believed that the struggle between life and death is prolonged by shutting the door of the patient's room; yet it is not to be kept quite open, but left slightly ajar. Space is thus left for the imprisoned spirit to escape, and yet an obstacle offered to the entrance of any frightful form which might otherwise intrude.

In connection with funerals there were various superstitions. The spiritual safety of the deceased was well assured when on the day of his funeral fell gentle showers. The following rhyme widely obtained:—

> "West wind to the bairn when gaun for its name;
> Gentle rain to the corpse carried to its lang hame;
> A bonny blue sky to welcome the bride
> As she gangs to the kirk wi' the sun on her side."

If on leaving the dwelling of the deceased, a funeral party walked in a scattered and straggling manner, it was taken for an omen that ere long another death would occur under the same roof. In Shetland when a funeral procession is passing, the bystanders throw three clods one by one after the corpse. When a coffin is brought to a house it is placed on chairs, which after the funeral procession has moved are carefully upset, since otherwise another death in the house is held to be imminent. The instant a funeral procession has started, the straw on which the corpse

was laid is burnt, and the ashes narrowly examined to see if footsteps may be traced. When footsteps are discovered they are held to be those of another member of the family who is about to die.

In the Hebrides when at a funeral one of the company accidently fell, a token was accepted that he would next be carried forth to burial. In Shetland when the wind blows against a funeral party, it is held to be an omen that another death will occur shortly. And when a grave is dug, a spade is laid across it, so as to prevent crows and other fowls from entering it, there being a common belief that nothing evil can pass iron or steel. The soul of a murdered person was formerly believed to linger about his body till the detection of the slayer, and that at whatever distance of time, the body, or even the skeleton of the murdered person, would emit blood on the murderer's touch. In Romish times the ordeal was usually applied amidst "pomp and circumstance," for the slaughtered corpse was stretched on a bier in front of the altar, while the suspected assassin was led up to it following a procession of priests singing an anthem. In his "Dæmonologie" James VI. writes—"In a secret murther, if the dead carkasse be any time thereafter handled by the murtherer, it will gush out of blood, as if the blood were crying to heaven for revenge of the murtherer." The ordeal continued to be applied both by the civil and ecclesiastical

authorities till the commencement of the eighteenth century. A commission which sat at Dalkeith, on the 14th June 1641, held Christian Wilson guilty of the murder of Alexander Wilson, her brother, because on touching the body of the deceased "the blood rushed out of it, to the great admiration of all the beholders, who tooke it for discoverie of the murder." In 1680, a woman was before the Kirk-session of Colinton, charged with the murder of her illegitimate child, and in the minute of the Court are entered these words:—"There is one thing very observable . . . that, when the mother laid her hand upon the child's nose, there came a little blood from it, which was seen by many persons. In December 1687 Sir James Stanfield of Newmills was found strangled in a stream near Haddington. According to James Muirhead, the surgeon, and another, when Philip Stanfield, his son, was assisting to place the body in the coffin, blood darted from the left side of the neck upon his touch, on which he exclaimed, "Lord, have mercy upon me!" On this testimony Philip Stanfield was convicted of parricide and publicly executed.

In a letter which, in 1712, was addressed by a minister in Caithness to the historian Wodrow, the writer remarks, "Some murthers in this country have been discovered by causing suspected persons touch the deid corps, which, upon their touching,

have immediately bled, whereupon some have confessed guilt and have been executed."[1]

With particular seasons superstitious notions were associated. In Orkney it was formerly deemed unlucky to eat or drink till after Divine service. In cases of fever the symptoms were expected to be more severe on Sunday, and if the patient began to feel better on that day, a relapse was to be anticipated. On Monday the Shetlander will give nothing out of his dwelling. Members of the family of Sinclair, in Caithness, decline on Monday to cross the river bed, since it was on that day that a body of the sept left their native shores to join the standard of James IV. on the field of Flodden, where the whole were cut off. On Saturday it is generally deemed unlucky to flit, as is indicated in the rhyme,

"Saturday's flit, short while sit."

In the Highlands peasants formerly took off their bonnets to the rising sun. To the new moon northern women made a reverence. In northern counties no important business is transacted during the moon's wane. In the acts of the Baron Court of Breadalbane, in 1621, there is a provision against cutting of briars save "in the waning of the moon."[2] And

[1] On this branch of popular superstition, see an ingenious dissertation by Mr Robert Pitcairn. "Criminal Trials," vol. iii., pp. 182, 189.

[2] Innes's "Early Scotch History," p. 381.

not improbably to show his defiance of superstition, or to enable others to watch the influence of a particular fact, a father, at Kirkintilloch, in the year 1811, caused the session-clerk to make entry in the parochial register that his child was born "in the last day of the last quarter of the moon."

Superstitious usages in connection with saints' days and other anniversaries have been described.[1] Others may be added. It was deemed unlucky to retain in the house a dead body till the morning of New Year's Day; hence, if a death occurred at this period the funeral was hastened. The entrance of a well-favoured person into a dwelling on the morning of New Year's Day was a good omen, but if one feeble and decrepit entered first, evil ere the year had closed was to be anticipated.

On Candlemas, the 2nd of February, families in the Hebrides observed the following custom:—The mistress and servants of each family took a sheaf of oats, and dressing it in women's apparel, placed it in a large basket, along with a wooden club; this was called "Brüd's bed." The mistress and servants now exclaimed three times, "Brüd is come! Brüd is welcome!" This they did just before severally retiring to rest, and when they rose in the morning they looked among the ashes, expecting to see the impression of Brüd's club, which if they did, they

[1] See vol. ii., 333-354.

reckoned the appearance as a presage of a favourable spring and a prosperous autumn. The contrary was a bad omen. During the increase of the March moon the peasantry of Morayshire cut down withes of woodbine. These were twisted into wreaths and preserved till the following March. Children sick of fever and consumptive patients were now made to pass through the wreaths three several times, when a cure was supposed to be effected.

Superstitious observances common to the first of May, or *Beltane*, have already been described.[1] On May-day the Romans, by the hands of the priests of Vulcan, offered sacrifices to Maia, the *good mother* of the Greeks. And the Divine female energy, styled Maya, has in the figure of the mirror her special emblem on our sculptured stones. During the eighteenth century the inhabitants of Barvas, one of the Western Isles, sent early on May-day morning a man to cross the Barvas river, lest any woman should on that day cross first. For when by any misadventure a woman chanced to cross first, it was held that salmon would not come up the river during the remainder of the season. Dr Alexander Stewart writes, "It was an article of belief in the hygiene code of the old highlanders, that the invalid suffering under any form of internal ailment, upon whom the sun of May once fairly shed its light, was pretty sure of a renewed

[1] See vol. i. 13-13 ; ii. 342-3.

lease of life, until at least the next autumnal equinox." [1]

A practice, evidently derived from the ancient rites of May-day, has by historians been unnoticed heretofore. At Stirling, on one of the early days of May, boys of ten and twelve years divest themselves of clothing, and in a state of nudity run round certain natural or artifical circles. Formerly the rounded summit of Demyat, an eminence in the Ochil range, was a favourite scene of this strange pastime, but for many years it has been performed at the King's Knot in Stirling, an octagonal mound in the royal gardens. The performances are not infrequently repeated at Midsummer and Lammas.

On the 3rd of May a Highlander begins no undertaking of consequence; it is known as *La sheachanna na bleanagh*, or the dismal day.

On St John's Eve, the 23rd of June, it was formerly held that if an unmarried woman laid upon her parlour table a clean cloth, with bread, cheese, and ale, and then sat down as about to eat, the door of her house being left open, the person whom she was afterwards to marry would come into the room and make obeisance to her. On the Eve of St John, Masonic lodges hold a grand anniversary. At Melrose they display burning torches. Entering the

1 "Nether Lochaber," by the Rev. Alexander Stewart, Edin., 1883, p. 226.

ruins of the venerable abbey, the torch-bearers pass through the mouldering aisles and round the massive pillars, thereafter round the structure three several times, and as a concluding ceremony form a semi-circle in the chancel, where martial music is discoursed, followed by an exhibition of fireworks. On St John's Day, in the Chapel Royal of Holyrood, in 1633, Charles I. touched one hundred persons for "the cruellis," or King's Evil.

The weather which prevailed on St Martin of Bullion's Day—the 4th of July—was held to possess a prophetic character. There was a proverb that if on that day the deer rose up and lay down dry there would be a "good gose-harvest"—that is, an early harvest. Rain upon the 4th July was held to betoken wet weather for twenty days thereafter.

On the 25th of August the people of Applecross sacrificed a bull to St Mourie. This saint, otherwise St Maree, was patron of the coast from Applecross to Lochbroom; the name being a corruption of that of Maelrubha, a hermit who came from Ireland to Scotland in 673, and who died at Applecross in 722. The sacrifice was usually offered at Eilean Maree or Innis Maree, a small island in Loch Maree, where the saint had a cell, and where, before his arrival in Scotland, there was a pagan temple. During the seventeenth century the Presbytery of Dingwall sought to suppress this superstition, also other rites such as pouring milk

on the hills as an oblation, and rendering reverence to stones which were consulted as to future events. The practice of sacrificing to Mourie ceased before the close of the seventeenth century.[1]

At Rutherglen, in Lanarkshire, certain rites were observed in connection with St Luke's Fair. About eight days prior to the fair, which was held on Wednesday before the first Friday of November, some oatmeal was converted into dough, and laid up to ferment. Mixed with sugar and cinnamon, it was brought into a proper consistency and rolled up in balls. The baking process was effected by women, who commenced after sunset a night or two before the fair. A large space in the house was marked out, the area included within a line being considered as consecrated, and not to be touched by strangers. Into this hallowed spot were introduced six or eight women, all of whom, except the toaster, seated themselves on the ground in the form of a circle, and with their faces turned towards the fire. Each held a baking-board on her knees. The woman who toasted was queen or bride, and those who baked were called her maidens; names such as "todler" or "hodler" being given to each. The cakes were commenced by todler, who formed the ball of dough into a small

[1] Dr Mitchell's "Past in the Present." Edin., 1880. 8vo. Pp. 147-9; also Proceedings of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, iv., 251-265.

cake ; she passed it on from one to the other in the direction of east to west, till, each kneading it in turn, it became thin as a sheet of paper. The cake was beaten out by the hand only, and was kept unruffled and unbroken. During the act of baking music was discoursed. The bread was not intended for common use, but was offered to strangers in small portions. While there is no tradition as to the origin of the practice, it is not without significance that a similar rite which obtained among the ancient Hittites became a snare to the chosen people.[1]

With the feast of All-Hallow Eve, or Hallowe'en—the 31st of October—were connected many rites derived from the elder superstition. Called in Gaelic *Samhain*—that is, the sleep of summer—the occasion was associated with observances in which the chief factors were fire and water.[2] In north-eastern districts the ashes of the Hallowe'en bonfires were scattered, all who took part in kindling them vying with each other who should spread abroad the greatest quantity. It was believed that on All-Hallow Eve the fairies gave access to their subterranean abodes to all who nine several times encompassed their hillocks. But the adventurer was not allowed to return to human society.

Christmas, or Yule, was largely associated with

[1] Jeremiah vii. 18 ; Forsyth's "Beauties of Scotland," i. 286.

[2] See vol. ii., 345-349.

idolatrous rites. Children born on Christmas were believed to have the power of seeing spirits and even of commanding them. In Highland districts each householder bore from the nearest plantation a withered stump, which, placed on a heap of peats, was set on fire and burned, and by this act *skaith* and death were averted till the return of the anniversary. Snow or wind on Christmas was supposed to forebode a favourable season, but if the day was mild, "a fat kirkyard" or much death during winter was to be apprehended.

On Hogmanay—the 31st December—a rite called "burning the clavie" was formerly observed in Morayshire; it lingers at Burghead, on the southern shore of the Moray Firth. The clavie is a piece of wood cleft for holding and carrying a torch. At the celebration at Burghead a tar-barrel is elevated on a fir prop and set up against a wall. The barrel is packed with logs or pieces of timber, tar being poured over them. Under the pile is laid a burning peat, which, igniting the tarred wood, produces a powerful flame. Borne on the back of a person specially appointed to the office, the barrel is laid down at a point where two streets meet; it is then taken up by another, and so transported from place to place till the circuit is completed. The clavie is next carried to a promontory north of the town, known as the Doorie, on the summit of which

a freestone pillar is built for its reception. Fresh fuel is procured, and after burning about half an hour the barrel is thrown down the western slope of the hill, followed by the multitude, who snatch up the blazing fragments. During the seventeenth century the Kirksessions of the several parishes in the district, also the Presbytery of Elgin, endeavoured to suppress the rite, but unsuccessfully. The celebration brought blessing, it was believed, both on land and water—that is, among the cattle, and also among the fishing-boats.[1]

Among the supernatural beings common to Scottish superstition the most reputed was "the Brownie." Successor of the *Lar familiaris* of the ancients, his existence was immediately suggested by the *svartalfer*, a small dark Finnish people who occupied the *eirde* dwellings, and are described in northern sagas. Deriving his name from the supposed tawny colour of his skin, he had short hair or brown matted locks, and bore a brown mantle which reached to his knee, with a hood of the same colour. Brownies lived in the hollows of trees, the recesses of ruinous castles, and in the caves and correis of unfrequented eminences. Of a character between man and spirit, they made aërial progresses, and while so occupied, emitted music like the tones of a harp,

[1] Superstitious rites associated with festivals and other anniversaries are noticed in vol. ii., 335-352.

the grinding of a mill, or the crowing of a cock. Indolent naturally, the brownie would, like Robin Goodfellow of English superstition, perform active and useful labour. Capable of extraordinary exertions, they executed their work at night, and sought no food or other recompense, stipulating only that they should be permitted to discharge their duties without interference. They abandoned work on the offer of thanks. The character of a brownie is forcibly depicted in the popular ballad of "Aiken Drum." In his strange aspects, coming to a farmer and his wife, he excited alarm, till, in answer to the gudeman's question as to who he was and whence he came, he replied—

"I lived in a lan' where we saw nae sky,
I dwalt in a spot where a burn rins na by;
But I'se dwall now wi' you if ye like to try—
Hae ye wark for Aiken Drum?

"I'll shiel' a' your sheep i' the mornin' sune,
I'll bring your crop by the licht o' the mune,
And ba the bairns wi' an unkenned tune,
If ye'll keep puir Aiken Drum.

"I'll loup the linn when ye canna wade,
I'll ca' the kirn, and I'll turn the bread;
An' the wildest filly that ever ran rede
I'se tame't, quoth Aiken Drum.

"I'se seek nae guids, gear, bond, nor mark,
I use nae biddin', shoon, nor sark,
But a cogfu' o' brose 'tween the light and dark
Is the wage o' Aiken Drum."

All went well about the farm, for the brownie toiled day and night till

> " A new-made wife, fu' o' frippish freaks
> . . . . . .
> Laid a mouldy pair o' her ain man's breeks
> By the brose o' Aiken Drum."

The gift of clothing was taken as an insult, and the brownie disappeared.

When two brownies chanced to render together an unpaid service, they could not endure that one should be commended at the cost of the other. Having fallen behind with his work, the blacksmith of Glammis excited the compassion of two brownies, who during night powerfully assisted him. Entering his smithy one morning before his supernatural assistants had departed, he was so rejoiced at the progress made, that he exclaimed exultingly—

> " Weel chappit, Red Cowl,
> But better chappit, Blue."
>
> " Chap wha we like to,
> We'll chap nae mair to you,"

was the immediate response of the tawny visitors, who instantly evanished.

Every husbandman in the Hebrides who was more industrious than his neighbours was supposed to be aided by a brownie.

To families eminent for their personal or hereditary virtues, members of the brownie fraternity were held

to be attached, and with such they were believed to remain from one to another generation. For three centuries a noted brownie had served the family at Leithen Hall, Dumfriesshire. He had been remarked to moan deeply on the death of one of the owners, and when the heir arrived from foreign parts to take possession, brownie showed himself and proffered homage. Offended by the uncouth aspects of his domestic, the new laird ordered him a suit of clean livery. The usual result followed, for the supernatural departed, exclaiming as he went—

> "Ca', cuttie, ca'!
> A' the luck o' Leithen Ha'
> Gangs wi' me to Bodsbeck Ha'."

And so in a few years Leithen became ruinous, and the neighbouring house of Bodsbeck began to flourish.[1]

Goranberry Tower, in the county of Roxburgh, a stronghold of the Elliots, was haunted by a species of brownie. Familiarly known as "the Cowie," he kept the work of the place in a forward state. Between night and day he drove the peats, smeared the sheep, and secured the corn. Within the Tower he might be heard chopping or sawing wood, or turning the quern, or in the act of spinning. When he uttered the voice of lamentation, he thereby foretokened a death in the family. Adam Elliot of Goranberry, the

[1] "Cromek's Remains," Lond., 1810, pp. 322-3.

last of his family, fell from his horse in crossing at night the adjacent stream of the Hermitage, but contrived to find his way into the adjacent churchyard, where he perished. Prior to the laird's death, Cowie was loud in his bewailings, and his cries on the fatal night were especially agonising. He was heard no more.[1]

Nearly every family in the Orkneys had a brownie, from whom they believed that they obtained service, and to whom they consequently tendered offerings, such as milk or ale. As an offering, milk was sprinkled at every corner of the house, and ale poured into a stone with an aperture, and named brownie's stone. There were in the Orkneys stacks of corn known as brownie's stacks, which, though not made secure in the usual manner, would steadily resist the storm, and could not be overturned.[2] Noltland Castle, an ancient seat of the Balfours in the Island of Westray, in Orkney, has, it is believed, been upwards of a century kept by a brownie, which had formerly laboured in the service of the family, and now in their absence celebrates in the castle the births and marriages of the house in a sort of spectral illumination.

Fairies were common to every European country, and not improbably had their origin among the same

[1] Jeffrey's "Roxburghshire," iv., pp. 241-3.

[2] Brand's "Brief Description of Orkney," p. 168.

people by whom the "brownie" was recognised as a supernatural. Their original appellative was the Saxon *elf*, which signified a spirit of the lower order. And according to the Icelandic sagas, the northern nations believed in a race of dwarfish spirits which inhabited the rocky mountains and were in nature akin to the human. Among the Laplanders there are traditions of a subterranean people gifted with supernatural qualities, and in the islands of Faroe are entertained similar superstitions.

To the ancient elves were ascribed qualities capricious and diabolical. But with the period of the Crusades a milder view of those supernaturals began to be entertained, for in their intercourse with the Saracens the crusaders were informed of those imaginary beings, the "Peri," a designation which in Arabic is pronounced *fairy*. And thus in British folklore was substituted the eastern fairy with its prepossessing aspects for the repulsive northern elf. The fairy is named in Chaucer; also in English writers of greater antiquity; and this description of supernatural also occurs in the earlier romances of France, Italy, and Spain. By the older poets their heroes are described as marrying fairies, or as being descended from them. Pleasing and gentle, the English fairy hovered in the balmy clouds, floated in the colours of the rainbow, and feasted on the odour of flowers. To Scottish fairies were ascribed qualities

midway between those of the Scandinavian elves and the fairies of English superstition. Less homely than their southern kindred, they were more capricious and susceptible of offence. Generally envious, they were not indisposed to wreck human happiness, especially in connection with infant children.

With the diminutive stature of the Saxon elf the Scottish fairy united the exquisite proportions of the Oriental supernatural. To the female belonged features of seraphic loveliness, with ringlets of yellow hair which descended upon her shoulders, and were bound upon her brow with combs of gold.

Scottish fairies were believed to have bodies of condensed cloud, thinner than air, and into which they could disappear in a moment of time. "Their bodies," writes Mr Robert Kirk, "be so plyable through the subtilty of the spirits that agitate them, that they can make them appear or disappear att pleasure. Some have bodies or vehicles so spongious, thin, and defecat that they are fed by only sucking into some fine spirituous liquors that peirce lyke air and oyl: others feid more gross on the foyson or substance of corne and liquors or corne itself that grows on the surface of the earth, which these fairies steal away, partly invisible, partly preying on the grain as do crowes and mice; wherefore in this same age, they are sometimes heard to bake bread, strike hammers, and do

such lyke services within the little hillocks they most haunt."[1]

Like the kindred supernatural of England, the Scottish fairy disported invisibly on the upper surface of the earth; hence the description in the ballad of "Young Tamlane"—

> We sleep in rosebuds soft and sweet,
> We revel in the stream;
> We wanton lightly on the wind
> Or glide in a sunbeam.[2]

As their permanent abodes they were believed to occupy halls within round or rocky eminences. A conical hill at Strachur in Argyleshire is called "Sien Shuai"—that is, the fairy dwelling of a multitude. Other haunts were at Coirshian, above Loch Con, and near the source of the Forth, and at Cassilis Dounans, certain rocky green hills in Carrick, celebrated by Burns in his "Halloween." In a letter addressed to the author of "Pandæmonium, or the Devil's Cloisters," published in 1684, Captain George Burton remarks that he had ascertained that the elves of Edinburgh occupied spacious halls under the Calton Hill, which they entered

[1] "The Secret Commonwealth; an Essay on the Nature and Actions of the Subterranean and, for the most part, Invisible People, heretofore going under the name of Elves, Faunes, and Fairies, as they are described by those having the Second Sight, &c." By Mr Robert Kirk, Minister at Aberfoill. 1691. 4to.

[2] Scott's "Border Minstrelsy."

through a great pair of gates which opened invisibly.

Scottish fairies had a king and queen and a royal court. The queen first held the government, but having chosen Thomas the Rhymer as her consort, she gave him a share of the royal dignity. The fairy queen's offer to the Rhymer is thus celebrated in ballad :—

"An' I will give to thee luve Thamas
My han' but an' my crown,
An' thou shalt reign owre Fairylan'
In joy and gret renown ;
An' I will gi'e to thee luve Thamas
To live for evermair.
Thine arm sall never feckless grow,
Nor hoary wax thy hair.
Nae clamorous grief we ever thole,
Nae wastin' pine we dree ;
An endless life's afore thee placed
O' constant luve an' lee."

The fairy court found diversion in various sports, of which hunting was the most conspicuous. In hunting they rode in three bands—the first mounted on brown horses, the second on grey, and the third consisting of the king, queen, and chief nobles on steeds of snowy whiteness. Upon a black charger rode Kilmaulie, prime councillor of the fairy court. The hunt was prosecuted on the hill-sides, at spots denoted by old thorns and boulder-stones. All rode

invisible, but their presence was revealed by the shrill ringing of their bridles. They snatched horses from terrestrial stables; when in the morning horses were found in their stalls panting and fatigued, it was held that these had taken part in a fairy procession. At hunts the fairies assumed a splendid attire. Each male wore silver sandals and green pantaloons, buttoned with bobs of silk, while a mantle overlaid with wild flowers covered his shoulders and reached to his middle; its colour was green or heath-brown, produced by the dye of the lichen. From his left arm was suspended a bow formed of a man's rib, dug up at spots where three lands met; also a quiver of adder's skin, with arrows of the bog reed, pointed with flint, dipped in the dew of the hemlock and tipped in flame. In processions and other mystic celebrations the female fairy wore a mantle of green silk inlaid with eider down, and bound round her waist with garlands of wild flowers. Thus accoutred, the male and female fairies rode on horses of which the manes bore silver bells, which rang with the zephyr, and whose feet fell so softly as not to bend the wild rose or dash the dew from the hare-bell. They were attended with exquisite music emitted from unseen harps. The fairies of the Calton Hill held rendezvous each Thursday evening, when a boy from Leith acted as drummer. During this weekly demonstration the fairy assemblage would transport

themselves into France and Holland, always returning before dawn.[1]

Fairies danced nightly upon the meadows, imprinting in green rings their footsteps upon the sward.[2] The unfortunate wight who with the ploughshare turned up a fairy-ring became the victim of a wasting sickness.

"He wha tills the fairy green
Nae luck again sall hae,
An' he wha spills the fairy-ring
Betide him want and wae;
For weirdless days and weary nichts
Are his till his deein' day."

The protector of the fairy-ring was proportionately recompensed.

"He wha gaes by the fairy green
Nae dule nor pains sall see,
An' he wha cleans the fairy ring
An easy death sall dee."

Northern fairies were of two classes—the "gude fairies" and the "wicked wichts;" they were otherwise described as the "seelie court" and the "un-

[1] Scott's "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," Lond., 1869, pp. 464-466.

[2] "Fairy-rings" are caused by a species of mushroom (*Agaricus pratensis*), the sporule dust or seed of which, having fallen on a spot suitable for its growth, instantly germinates, and constantly propagating itself by sending out a network of innumerable filaments and threads, causes these vivid-green circles."—"Nether Lochaber," by the Rev. Alexander Stewart, Edin., 1883, 12mo, p. 155.

seelie court." The members of "the seelie court" were benefactors of mankind; they gave bread to the poor, and supplied them with seed-corn; they cheered the afflicted and comforted the mourner. Upon those mortals who propitiated their favour they bestowed loans and gifts. Hence the rhyme—

> "Meddle an' mell
> Wi' the fien's o' hell,
> An' a weirdless wicht ye'll be.
> But tak' an' len'
> Wi' the gude fay men,
> Ye'll thrive until ye dee."

Upon mankind the "wicked wichts" were ever ready to inflict *skaith* or damage. Shaving persons with loathsome razors, they eradicated every vestige of whiskers and beard. When in a fit of temper anyone commended himself to Satan, "the unseelie court" took the speaker at his word, and forthwith on a dark cloud transported him into the air, and thereafter consumed him to charcoal. The "wicked fairies" feasted on viands which they abstracted from human habitations,—especially on the food and liquor provided for those who assembled at funerals,—while by means of hair-tethers they conveyed their stolen dainties unseen to their viewless abodes. They were believed to seize healthy children from the cradle, and in their stead to substitute *brats*, sickly and loathsome. When in the Highlands a child had ceased to thrive, the mother assumed that she nursed

a changeling, and had recourse to the barbarous rite of burning with live coal the toes of the little sufferer. The "wicked wichts" were also supposed to seize youths who for misconduct were denounced by their parents. To their dismal abodes they bore herds who fell asleep on the pastures; they also devastated sheepfolds and destroyed cattle. Bestial suddenly seized with cramp were believed to be elf-shot, for the "wicked fairies" were held to barb their shafts with flint arrow-heads, and with them to smite down flocks and herds. Though the cattle wounds of the elf-shot were invisible, there were persons so skilled in the art of detection as to be able to extract the arrows by chafing the animal with the blue bonnet of a herdsman. "There are still," writes Sir Walter Scott, "traces of a belief in the worst and most malicious order of fairies among the Border wilds." He quotes in illustration these verses from Leyden's "Court of Keeldar."[1]

"The third blast that young Keeldar blew
Still stood the limber fern,
And a wee man of a swarthy hue
Upstarted by a cairn.

"His russet weeds were brown as heath
That clothes the upland fell,
And the hair of his head was frizzly red
As the purple heather-bell.

[1] Note to "Lady of the Lake."

"An urchin clad in prickles red
Clung cow'ring to his arm;
The hounds they howl'd and backward fled,
As struck by fairy charm.

"Why rises high the staghound's cry
Where staghound ne'er should be?
Why wakes that horn the silent morn,
Without the leave of me?

"Brown dwarf, that o'er the moorland strays,
Thy name to Keeldar tell!
The brown man of the moors, who stays
Beneath the heather-bell.

"'Tis sweet beneath the heather-bell
To live in autumn brown,
And sweet to hear the lav'rock's swell
Far, far from tower and town.

"But woe betide the shrilling horn,
The chase's surly cheer!
And ever that hunter is forlorn
Whom first at morn I hear."

The "wicked fairies" revenged themselves upon those who had shown them disrespect by seizing their wives and transporting them to fairyland. To members of their court the miller of Menstrie had given offence, and they consequently deprived him of his helpmate. The miller's distress was aggravated on hearing his wife singing in the air—

"Oh! Alva woods are bonny,
Tillicoultry hills are fair,
But when I think o' the bonny braes o' Menstrie,
It mak's my heart aye sair."

After many fruitless efforts to procure her restoration, the miller chanced one day, in riddling some stuff at the mill-door, to use a posture of enchantment, when the spell was dissolved, and the matron fell into his arms. The wife of the blacksmith of Tullibody was by the "wicked wichts" carried up the chimney, the abductors singing as they bore her off—

> "Deidle linkum dodie,
> We've gotten drucken Davie's wife,
> The smith o' Tullibody."

Those who were borne to fairyland might be recovered within a year and a day, but the recovery spell was potent only when the fairies made their procession on Hallow Eve. In his "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border" Sir Walter Scott relates the following :—

"The wife of a Lothian farmer had been snatched by the fairies. During the year of probation she had repeatedly appeared on Sundays in the midst of her children combing their hair. On one of these occasions she was addressed by her husband, when she revealed to him how to rescue her at the next Hallow Eve procession. The farmer conned his lesson carefully, and on the appointed day proceeded to a plot of furze to await the arrival of the procession. It came, but the ringing of the fairy bridles so confused him that the train passed ere he could sufficiently recover himself to use the intended spell. The unearthly laughter of the wicked wichts, and the passionate lamentation of his wife, informed him that she was lost to him for ever."

A woman conveyed to fairyland was warned by one whom she had known as a mortal to avoid for a time eating or drinking with her new companions.

Acting upon the suggestion, she at the expiry of the period named found herself on earth, restored to human society. A matron carried to fairyland to nurse her newborn child, which had previously been abducted, was not long in her enchanted dwelling when she furtively anointed one of her eyes with the contents of a cauldron ; she now discovered that what had seemed a gorgeous palace was but a gloomy cavern. Having discharged her office, she returned to earth. But retaining through her medicated eye the faculty of discovering everything that was done in her presence, she chanced to remark amidst a crowd of people the fairy with whom she had left her child, when, prompted by maternal affection, she enquired of her after the child's welfare. Vexed at the recognition, the fairy demanded how she had perceived her. Overcome by her penetrating gaze, she acknowledged what she had done, whereupon the indignant fairy cast saliva into her eye and extinguished it for ever.[1]

On the tradition of the removal to fairyland of a labourer's daughter at Traquair, and her restoration a few weeks afterwards, James Hogg conceived his exquisite ballad of "Kilmeny." The following is his description of fairy land :—

> "Kilmeny had been where the cock never crew,
> Where the rain never fell, and the wind never blew ;

[1] Graham's "Sketches of Perthshire," pp. 116-118.

But it seemed as the harp of the sky had rung,
And the airs of heaven played round her tongue,
When she spake of the lovely forms she had seen,
And a land where sin had never been;
A land of love and a land of light,
Withouten sun, or moon, or night;
Where the river swa'd a living stream,
And the light a pure celestial beam;
The land of vision it would seem

. . . . .

A still, an everlasting beam;
They lifted Kilmeny, they led her away,
And she walked in the light of a sunless day;
The sky was a dome of crystal bright,
The fountain of vision and fountain of light;
The emerald fields were of dazzling glow,
And the flowers of everlasting blow.
Then deep in the stream her body they laid,
That her youth and beauty never might fade;
And they smiled on heaven when they saw her lie
In the stream of life that wandered bye."

Toshach, chief of Clan Mackintosh, occupied a small castle near the stream of the Turret. He held nocturnal interviews with a female fairy who had accompanied him from abroad. The mode of his reaching the place of meeting and the nature of his companion were long a mystery. Curious as to his frequent departures, and unable to discover whither he proceeded, his wife resorted to the scheme of attaching a piece of worsted to his button. Thus guided, she followed him down a subterranean passage under the bed of the river, where, after various windings, she

discovered him in conversation with a beautiful fairy. Finding that she was discovered, the fairy hastily departed, and "the sun of Toshach set to rise no more."

Scottish fairies, like the brownie, occasionally took up their abode in the immediate vicinity of human dwellings. In this capacity they were known as "good neighbours."

As Sir Godfrey Macculloch of Galloway was riding on horseback close by his residence, he was accosted by a small old man clothed in green, and mounted on a white palfrey. After a respectful salutation, the stranger informed him that he lived beneath his mansion; he then proceeded to complain of a drain or sewer which emptied itself into his "chamber of dais" or best apartment. Though startled by the complaint, Sir Godfrey courteously replied that the course of the drain would be altered, and he forthwith executed his promise. Many years afterwards Sir Godfrey chanced in a fray to kill a neighbour, and being tried, was convicted of murder and sentenced to death. Just as he had on the Castlehill of Edinburgh taken his place upon the scaffold, the old man on his white palfrey rode up, and passing through the crowd, bore off swift as lightning the condemned baron, who was no more seen. There exists a tradition concerning an ancestor of the noble family of Duffus. Walking in a field adjoining his own house, he was suddenly carried away, and was next day found

at Paris in the French king's cellar with a silver cup in his hand. Brought into the king's presence, and questioned whence he had come, he stated that when in the field he heard the noise as of a whirlwind, and of voices exclaiming "Horse and Hattock"—a mode of expression used by the fairies when they are bent on a removal. On the impulse of the moment he had responded "Horse and Hattock," when in an instant he was borne aloft and through the air transported to the place where he was found, and where, after he had drunk heartily, he fell asleep. Satisfied with his story, the king presented him with the cup found in his hand, which became an heirloom in his family.

The enchantments of fairydom were overcome by a series of counter charms. Fire had a potent influence against all elfic arts. When a cow calved, a burning coal was passed round her to avert "fairy wichts." In breweries the influence of "the wicked wichts" was neutralized on a live coal being thrown into the vat. The inhabitants of the Isle of Lewis made an elfic circle around their dwellings, and with a fairy band encompassed a bride before she was churched, and children prior to their being baptized. On the top of Minchmoor, a hill in Peeblesshire, is a spring known as the Cheese Well, because those who passed that way were wont to throw into it a piece of cheese as an offering to the fairies. On a conical eminence in

Inverness-shire, there was a fairy well, to which children suffering from any wasting malady were brought for benefit; it was also frequented by adults expecting cure.

CHAPTER XX.

SORCERY.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the invention of printing and the publication of the Scriptures in the vernacular arose a new persecution. Misinterpreting a passage in the Book of Exodus, in which death is assigned as the punishment of witchcraft,[1] many earnest persons instituted a crusade against those whom credulity had charged with the crime, deeming themselves zealous in the Divine cause, proportionately as they sought to destroy the supposed emissaries of the devil. To these it did not occur that a class of persons might have existed in the early times of Israelitish history, without any successorship, or that the Hebrew word rendered *witch* in the English versions of the Bible might bear a different interpretation. And whatever construction was put upon certain passages of the Mosaic law, an examination of New Testament Scripture might have shown that the Saviour of mankind did not destroy the victims of demoniacal possession, but expelling the demons, gave comfort to those whom their presence had afflicted. So likewise

[1] Exodus xxii. 18.

the apostles with those who practised sorcery and enchantment.

The enormous cruelties perpetrated as in punishment of witchcraft constitute the most revolting chapter of modern history. And persons charged with the supposed crime were pursued by Catholics and Protestants with equal rigour. Bulls against witchcraft were issued by Pope Innocent VIII. in 1484, by Julius II. in 1504, and by Adrian VI. in 1523. Asserting the prevalence of sorcery, provincial councils anathematised those believed to be its votaries. Learned churchmen issued elaborate treatises in order to prove that death was the proper penalty of sorcery, while lawyers and other laymen, who, in their writings, expressed similar opinions, indicated their religious sense by dedicating to ecclesiastical dignitaries the expression of their views. In the Catholic catechism, ascribed to Archbishop Hamilton, is set forth the power of sorcery, and against its use Christians are adjured.

By the Protestant reformers was increased the rigour against sorcery formerly exercised. On those who practised the occult arts, Luther refused to show the slightest compassion. An outburst of persecution against witches and wizards attended the English Reformation. The celebrated Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, who fearlessly assailed the philosophy of the schools, expressed his belief in sorcery; and

another judge, the famous Sir Matthew Hale, pronounced sentence of death upon those deemed guilty of the offence. Addressing a jury in 1664, Sir Matthew Hale remarked that he did not in the least doubt the existence of witches—first, because the Scriptures affirmed it; and secondly, because the wisdom of all nations, particularly of our own, provided laws against sorcery, which implied a belief in such a crime.

The first statute in Scotland against witchcraft was passed in June 1563, by the ninth Parliament of Queen Mary. The statute ruled "That na maner of person nor persons of quhatsumever estaite, degree, or condition they be of, take upon hand in onie times hereafter to use onie maner of witchcraft, sorcerie or necromancie, under the paine of death, alsweil to be execute against the user, abuser, as the seeker of the response or consultation." In his public discourses sorcery was condemned by John Knox; while by the Romanists he was personally denounced as a wizard and as having through sorcery raised up saints in the churchyard of St Andrews, and persuaded the daughter of Lord Ochiltree to become his wife. From the Reformation down to the abolition of the penal statutes against sorcery in the eighteenth century, the Presbyterian clergy and their elders were the chief informers against witches, and the most persistent in effecting their condemnation. In

November 1597 the Kirksession of Perth ordained the magistrates "to travel with his Majesty," so as to obtain a commission for the execution of Janet Robertson, sorceress, who had long been detained in prison. The purpose was ultimately effected, for on the 9th of September 1598, three women condemned for practising sorcery, including Janet Robertson, were, at the instance of a royal commission, burned at Perth.

In the National Covenant, "the conjuring of spirits" is solemnly abjured; and Sir George Mackenzie, the celebrated King's Advocate to Charles II., and the merciless adversary of the Presbyterians, has in a dissertation upon witchcraft strongly affirmed his belief that sorcery is a crime. On one point only he differed from the prevailing belief, by strongly asserting that the devil might not transform one species into another, as a woman into a cat.

Those who practised sorcery were held to have sold themselves, both soul and body, to the devil. The ceremonial of Satanic dedication has been minutely set forth. Kneeling before the arch-enemy, the devotee placed one hand on her own head, and the other under her feet, and in this attitude dedicated all between to the devil's service; and one so self-dedicated to Satan, was believed to be incapable of reformation—no Roman priest would shrive her, and no minister or reformed pastor would attempt to pray for or with her. By every class she was shunned

or dreaded, and held as one who ought not to be allowed to live.

On accepting a witch's allegiance, the devil was supposed to set his mark upon her, in like manner as the Romans with their names stigmatised their slaves. The precise character of the devil's mark was, among those who engaged in demonological enquiries, a subject of debate. By Sir George Mackenzie it is described as a discoloured spot, caused by a nip or pinch, and resembling a farmer's "buist" or mark on his flock of sheep. Writing in 1705, Mr John Bell, minister of Gladsmuir, remarks, "The witch's mark is sometimes like a blew spot, or a little tet, or red spots like flea biting; sometimes also the flesh is sunk in and hollow, and this is put in secret places, as among the hair of the head or eye brows, within the lips, or under the armpits." In his "Secret Commonwealth," published in 1691, Mr John Kirk, minister of Aberfoyle, describes the mark "as a small mole, horny, and brown coloured, through which mark when a large brass pin was thrust till it was bowed (bent), the witches, both men and women, neither felt a pain, nor did it bleed."

Undiscoverable by the eye, the devil's mark on the bodies of sorcerers was believed to be a point or speck which might be punctured without pain. Accordingly, persons of pretended skill were appointed as "prickers" or witch-finders. And singularly revolting

as was their office, these persons, who were of necessity of the sterner sex, were deemed worthy of municipal honours. In 1661 John Kincaid, witch-pricker, was, in addition to receiving his professional fee, voted by the Town Council of Forfar the freedom of their burgh. Kincaid occupied a comfortable residence in the village of Tranent, Haddingtonshire. He was "common pricker" to the Court of Justiciary, and his circuit of employment extended from the county of Aberdeen to the English border. His fees of service were augmented as increased his professional reputation. At an early stage of his career, he received from the Kirksession of Stow in 1649 six pounds for "the brodding of Margaret Denham," a reputed witch. As Kincaid never failed to discover the devil's mark, all who were pricked by him were sentenced to perish at the stake. At length he ventured to prosecute his vocation on his own account, by seizing persons unaccused, and subjecting them to his tortures. This new effort was happily restrained, the Justiciary Court sentencing him to imprisonment. After experiencing nine weeks detention, he was liberated by the Privy Council, on the promise that he would not prick further without a judicial warrant. George Cathie, witch-pricker at Glasgow, was held by the Church Courts of the west as an expert in his profession, and he continued to retain confidence, even after he had condemned as witches twelve

parishioners of Crawford-Douglas, who were proved at trial to have been charged by a lunatic.

In executing his office, the witch-pricker proceeded in a fashion of refined barbarity. Having stripped his victims, and bound them with cords, he thrust his needles everywhere into their bodies. When any of the accused fell into a swoon, he relented only till sensation was reproduced by the use of restoratives. When exhausted by an agony too great for utterance, the victim remained silent, the pricker proclaimed that he had effected detection. A witch-pricker who was hanged for malversation, admitted on the jibbet, that he had illegally caused the death of 120 women whom he had been appointed to test for witchcraft.

In the supposed detection of sorcery trial by water was occasionally resorted to. An ordeal of trial by water was anciently granted to the great abbeys as a prerogative of jurisdiction. Such a privilege was by Alexander I. bestowed upon the Abbey of Scone, the place of trial being a small island in the Tay, midway between the abbey and the bridge of Perth. When the practice under the ecclesiastical system fell into disuse, it was revived in connection with trials for sorcery. Into witchpools persons suspected of sorcery were thrown, wrapped up in a sheet, and with the thumbs and great toes fastened together. When the body floated, the water of baptism was held to reject the accused, who was con-

sequently pronounced guilty. Those who sank were absolved of censure, but no attempt was made to restore them to life. A portion of the bay of St Andrews is known as the "witch lake." A sopt bearing this designation, formerly a swamp, existed at Kirriemuir in Forfarshire.

After the judicial sentence, affirming guilt and ordering execution, the miserable victim was not allowed to obtain even momentary rest. This barbarous procedure was enacted on the plea that Satan might in sleep fortify his devotee to further acts of perversity, but the real motive was to induce a confession, better to justify the cruelties of prosecution. Not infrequently the prevention of sleep induced a delirium, of which the incoherent utterances were accepted as evidence of Satanic dedication.

The watchers of condemned witches were generally appointed by the ecclesiastical courts. On the 16th March 1643, the Kirksession of Dunfermline ordained the watchers of certain condemned witches "to begin at six houris at even, and to byd and to continue all that nycht and the day following till 6 at evin againe, quhilk is the space of 24 houris," and that under a penalty of twenty-four shillings.

When confession was deemed positively essential, extraordinary means were resorted to. The victim was fastened to the wall of her dungeon by iron hoops, which passed round her person, enclosing the

limbs. About thirty stone weight of hoops and iron chains were often heaped upon the limbs of an aged woman, already enfeebled by the witch-pricker. Instruments of active torture were then applied, until a "confession" was elicited. A common torture was the thrusting of the fingers into the holes of disused harrows, wedges being driven in so as to lacerate the flesh and break the joints. If this failed to induce "confession," the fire-tongs were made hot, and being extended between the shoulders, were applied to each arm till the flesh was burned to the bones. When confession was still resisted, the tongs, heated a second time, were made to grasp the body under the arm-pits. The witch-bridle was, as an instrument of torture, applied last. By the bridle was grasped the victim's head; an iron bit was thrust into the mouth with four sharp prongs, two being directed to the tongue and palate, and two pointing outwards, made to pierce the cheeks. The bridle, secured to the back of the neck by a padlock, was by a ring and staple attached to the wall. In localities where a witch-bridle was not kept, the heads of persons charged with witchcraft were wrenched with ropes, while needles were thrust into the tongue and palate. When torture of the person failed to effect their purpose, other atrocities were resorted to. The parents and children of victims were brought into their cells, and in their

presence subjected to barbarous cruelties. After the application of each torture, a party of magistrates or ministers was introduced, in order duly to record such depositions as might be offered by the sufferer. The bodies of those who died under torture were usually dragged by horses to the place of execution and there burned. The Kirksession of Dunfermline ordered the remains of those who "died miserablie in ward" to be "taken to the witch-knowe, and castin into ane hole without ane kist, and yerdit."

The mode of executing witches was singularly revolting. The victims were led to the stake amidst the hootings of an exasperated rabble. The clergy, who attended officially, then thanked heaven for the immolation of the wretched beings, whom they believed had, by rendering fealty to the devil, renounced every claim to human sympathy. And the executioner handled roughly those whom by his spiritual teachers he was assured were destined to the pit. Raised aloft over a heap of wood and coal, the supposed sorcerer was bound to a stake, surrounded with faggots, while the contents of one or more tar barrels were strewn upon the holocaust. The executioner now tightened a rope about his victim's neck, and, applying fire to the heap, there was in the course of an hour to be found only a heap of ashes.

In rural parishes the resident landowners, and in

burghs the Town Councils, co-operated with Kirk-sessions in defraying the cost of witch-burning. When in 1636 a man and woman were burned at Kirkcaldy on the charge of sorcery, the cost of execution was defrayed by the Kirksession and Town Council in accordance with the following statement:—

Imprimis. To Mr James Miller, when he sent to Prestowe for a man to try them,	£2	7	0
Item. To the man of Culross [the executioner] when he went away the first time,	0	12	0
Item. In purchasing the commission,	9	3	0
Item. For coals for the witches,	1	4	0
Item. For one to go to Finmouth for the laird to sit upon the assize as judge,	0	6	0
Item. For harden to be jumps to them,	3	10	0
Item. For making of them,	0	8	0
Summa for the kirk's part,	£17	10	0

The town's part of the expenses debursed extraordinarily:—

Imprimis. For ten loads of coals to burn them, five merks,	£3	6	8
Item. For a tar barrel,	0	14	0
Item. For towes,	0	6	0
Item. To him that brought the executioner,	2	18	0
Item. To the executioner for his pains,	8	14	0
Item. For his expenses here,	0	16	4
Item. For one to go to Finmouth for the laird,	0	6	0
Summa town part,	£17	1	0

In the accounts of the burgh treasurer of Dumfries, under the 27th May 1657, the cost of the execution

of two women charged with witchcraft embraces the following items :—

"For 38 loads of peitts to burn the two women, £3, 12s. Given to William Edgar for ane tar barrell, 12s. ; for ane herring barrell, 14s. Given to John Shotrick for carrying the twa barrells to the pledge, 6s. Given to the four officers that day that the witches wes brunt at the provost and bayillis command, 24s. Given to Thomas Anderson for the two stoupes and two steaves, 30s."

Witches were charged with a variety of offences. They were held to stop mills ; to impede, in the form of boulders, the operations of the plough ; to ride upon the winds, and upset fishing-boats; to enter houses by the key-holes, and seize goods or destroy them ; to pass through the air on broom-sticks, shod with dead men's bones ; to transport to desert places, or souse in rivers, those who were opposed to them ; to steal children from their graves, and extract from their bodies an ointment for practices of enchantment ; to promote the sweating-sickness, and by Satanic arts construct a waxen image representing their victim, expose it to a slow fire, and thrust pins into it, so that their victim became attenuated, and at length perished from exhaustion. Upon the inferior animals they cast *glamour*, or an evil eye, depriving them of strength or life. When a dog or a cat became emaciated, or refused to eat, the creature was supposed to suffer from the influence of the sorcerer.

Cattle which did not prosper on the pasture, and milch cows which ceased to yield a sufficiency of milk, were held to be under the power of enchantment. By her evil arts a witch was supposed to present to the eye that which was unreal, and to change surrounding objects into aspects strange or unpleasing. An experienced witch

> "Had much of glamour might;
> Could make a lady seem a knight;
> The cobwebs on a dungeon wall
> Seem tapestry in lordly hall;
> A nutshell seem a gilded barge,
> A shieling seem a palace large;
> And youth seem age, and age seem youth;
> All was delusion, nought was truth."

To those who acknowledged the potency of their arts the weird sisterhood were believed to perform offices of kindness. They removed disease by incantation. In curing persons they operated by expressing the following charm :—

> "I forbid the quaking fevers, the sea fevers, the land fevers,
> And all the fevers that ever God ordainis,
> Out of the head, out of the heart, out of the back,
> Out of the sides, out of the knees, out of the thies,
> Frae the points of the fingers to the nebs of the taes,
> Out sall the fevers go, some to the hill, some to the hope,
> Some to the stone, some to the stock;
> In St Peter's name, St Paul's name, and all the saints of Heaven;
> In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghaist."

In using a phraseology savouring of piety, witches

were believed to have in view the complete deception of mankind. With the devil they were supposed to meet each Saturday—that day being consequently known as "the witches' Sabbath." Their places of rendezvous were dismal solitudes or the ruins of churches. To their "covens" or gatherings the foul sisterhood were borne through the air, and each could pass invisibly into the empyrean, when she anointed herself with the salve of enchantment. At each meeting Satan waited their arrival, or if he was absent, he could be evoked when the ground was beaten with "ane fir stick," and the words, "Rise up, foul thief" were forcibly expressed. To some of the weird sisterhood the devil seemed as "a pretty boy clothed in green;" others saw him as "a tall man dressed in white;" others as "a meikle black rough man, mounted on ane black horse." When he assumed the human form he wore boots, which were at the toes split open to accommodate his hoofs. But he frequently assumed the likeness of the inferior animals; he preferred the forms of the dog, the goat, or the raven. He commenced the Saturday orgies by preaching "ane mock sermone," his pulpit being surrounded with black candles. In his discourse he commended evil and enjoined devilry. As every witch had renounced her Christian baptism, Satan "with ane waff of his hand" baptized them to himself. After baptism each proselyte saluted the grim visage

of her lord. Next a court was held, the devil exchanging the pulpit for the judgment-seat. From every witch was required a statement of her acts. Those who had been indolent were with their own broomsticks scourged and buffeted. With enchanted portions of dead men's bones the industrious were rewarded. A dance followed. The devil led the music; he played on the cittern or bagpipe. As they danced, the witches screeched diabolic music. In the "Tale of Tam o' Shanter," Robert Burns has vividly portrayed the Satanic dance :—

"When glimmering thro' the groaning trees,
Kirk-Alloway seemed in a bleeze;
Thro' ilka bore the beams were glancing,
And loud resounded mirth and dancing.

. . . . . .

And wow! Tam saw an unco' sight!
Warlocks and witches in a dance;
Nae cotillon brent new frae France,
But hornpipes, jigs, strathspeys and reels
Put life and mettle in their heels.
A winnock bunker in the east,
There sat Auld Nick in shape o' beast.
A towzie tyke, black, grim, and large,
To gie them music was his charge.
He screw'd the pipes, and gart them skirl,
Till roof and rafters a' did dirl;
Coffins stood round like open presses,
That shaw'd the dead in their last dresses;
And, by some devilish cantrip slight,
Each in its cauld hand held a light,
By which heroic Tam was able
To note upon the haly table,

A murderer's banes in gibbet airns ;
Twa span-lang, wee unchristen'd bairns ;
A thief, new-cutted frae a rape,
Wi' his last gasp his gab did gape ;
Five tomahawks wi' bluid red-rusted ;
Five scimitars wi' murder crusted ;
A garter which a babe had strangled ;
A knife a father's throat had mangled,
Whom his ain son of life bereft,
The grey hairs yet stack to the heft ;
Wi' mair o' horrible an' awfu',
Which even to name wad be unlawfu'."

By the sisterhood a reception from their Satanic master, of the means of incantation, prepared from mouldering corpses, concluded the weekly orgies. When all was closed, each witch mounted her broomstick and returned to her place, there to obey the devil and curse her kindred.

Annual witch gatherings were held at Candlemas and Beltane, also on Hallow-eve. On these occasions the witches of all countries were supposed to assemble. When Scottish witches were summoned to meet the Norwegian sisterhood, they crossed the sea in barges of egg-shell. In their aerial journeys they rode goblin horses ruled by enchanted bridles. A witch in Nithsdale possessed a bridle which enabled her to transform her man-servant into a goblin horse. When she purposed to attend a witch assembly, she shook the bridle over the unsuspecting peasant, who instantly received her on his back, and darted with

the speed of lightning over woods and wilds. The witches of Galloway held conference with the devil on the hill of Locharbridge. There, as their gathering ode, they sung these words :—

"When the grey howlet has three times hoo'd,
When the grimy cat has three times mewed;
When the tod has yowled three times i' the wode
At the red moon cowering ahin' the clud;
When the stars hae cruppen' deep i' the drift,
Lest cantrips had pyked them out o' the lift;
Up horses a', but mair adowe!
Ryde, ryde for Locher-brigg-knowe!"[1]

The legend of Macbeth and the weird sisters has one of the earliest allusions to the practice of sooth-saying in Scotland. According to Hollinshed, Macbeth and Banquho were journeying towards Forres, when, in a solitary muir, three women accosted them. The foremost exclaimed—"All hail, Macbeth, Thane of Glammis;" "Macbeth, Thane of Cawdor," shouted the second; "Macbeth, King of Scotland," cried the third. "And is there no weird for me," inquired Banquho. "For you," exclaimed the wise women, "are reserved higher honours; Macbeth shall die unhappily, without a successor in his house, but Banquho's descendants shall govern Scotland by a perpetual descent."

To the poet, Thomas of Ercildoune, who flourished

[1] Cromek's "Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song," Lond., 1810, 8vo, pp. 272-277.

in the reign of Alexander III., was ascribed the art of divination, and many prophecies came to be associated with his name. And of great prominence as a supposed magician and soothsayer was Sir Michael Scott of Balwearie, a Scottish baron of the thirteenth century, who, largely employed in national affairs, was also remarkable for his scientific tastes and literary acquirements. Owing to the ignorance which prevailed at his period, and long subsequently, Sir Michael Scott was credited with the power of enchantment, and many tales as to his necromantic achievements linger among the peasantry. In the "Lay of the Last Minstrel" he is, by Sir Walter Scott, celebrated as a sorcerer. According to the legend, the Eildon Hill, formerly a uniform cone, was, through his instrumentality, divided into three. When he died, his books of magic were deposited in his grave, which was either in Melrose Abbey or at Home Cultrame in Cumberland.[1]

Another alleged sorcerer was the Lord Soulis, who from his castle of Hermitage cruelly oppressed his vassals, invoking by his incantations the aid of fiends in forcing from them cruel exactions and irksome labour. According to the legend, Soulis' reckless tyranny induced his dependants to complain of him so frequently to the king, that the sovereign at length said rashly to the complainers, "I would hear

[1] See Notes to "Lay of the Last Minstrel."

no more of him; boil him in bree." The king's remark was made at random, but the oppressed vassals were only too ready to find excuse for gratifying their revenge. Seizing their oppressor, they dragged him from Hermitage Castle to a place in the vicinity known as Ninestane Rig, and there thrust him into a huge cauldron, in which he perished. Unable longer to sustain the load of iniquity associated with the owner's sorceries, Hermitage Castle was believed to sink into the soil, while the chamber in which Soulis held his conferences with demons was supposed every seventh year to be opened by one of the diabolic fraternity to whom he had entrusted the keys when he was finally borne from his castle.[1]

By an enchantress the good fortune of King Robert the Bruce was predicted in his adversity; and in a contemporary narrative, which has been published by Pinkerton, it is alleged that an Irish sorceress foretold the assassination of James I., which, in the year 1437, took place at Perth. According to Buchanan, twelve women were burned in 1479 on the charge of having conspired with the Earl of Mar to destroy James III. by incantation. That unfortunate sovereign was himself addicted to the magical arts. Lady Janet Douglas, sister of the

[1] See "Ballad of Lord Soulis," with illustrations by Dr John Leyden, in "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border," Lond., 1869, pp. 393-408.

Earl of Douglas, widow of John Lyon, Lord Glammis, and wife of Archibald Campbell of Keipneith, was charged with attacking the life of James V. by enchantment or poison. On the 17th July 1537 she was by an assize pronounced guilty, and sentenced to death. With every accessory of cruelty, she was burned on the Castle Hill of Edinburgh.

Lady Buccleuch, celebrated by Sir Walter Scott in his "Lay of the Last Minstrel," was believed through her magical arts to have obtained Queen Mary's consent to the murder of Darnley. A contemporary of Queen Mary, Margaret, Countess of Athole, daughter of Malcolm, third Lord Fleming, is described by Bannatyne, John Knox's secretary, as having by sorcery transferred from herself to another the pains of parturition.

On his assuming the government, James VI. evinced his zeal for religion by granting special commissions for the trial of enchanters. In what he conceived to be the heinous character of sorcery, he endeavoured to enlighten his subjects by publishing his "Dialogue of Daemonologie." In this work he urges as a reason why women are more addicted to magic than men, that "the sex is frailer, and so is easier to be entrapped in these grosse snares of the divell, as was overwell proved to be trew by the serpent's deceiving of Eve at the beginning, which makes him the homelier with that sex sensine." On the 11th October

1587, James, with the approval of the Privy Council, issued a proclamation appointing his "Courte of Justiciarie to be haldin and begun in the Tolbuith of Edinburgh the xxvii. day of November next to come," for the trial and punishment, among other offences, of "witchecraft or sickaris of responssis, or help at witcheis."

Already had the Justiciary Court been proceeding vigorously towards the suppression of sorcery. On the 8th November 1576, Elizabeth Dunlop, wife of a labourer at Dalry, in Ayrshire, was arraigned on a charge of witchcraft. With the Evil One she had no direct communication, having received her skill through "ane Thom Reid, quha deid at Pinkie."[1] But Tom, she owned, had instructed her in preparing medicines for the cure of various ailments, and had provided her with the power of discovering stolen goods; also the names of the plunderers. Being introduced to "aught women and four men," these invited her to accompany them into fairyland, and "promeist hir geir, horsis, and ky, and vthir graith, gif scho wald denye her Christindome, and the faith scho tuke at the funt-stane." This offer she refused, adding she would "sooner be revin at horsis taillis" than renounce her baptism. On admitting her attachment to "the auld fayth," she was "fylit," condemned and "brynt." A charge against Alison

[1] The battle of Pinkie was fought on the 10th September 1547.

Pearson was actively promoted by the Presbyterians. For sixteen years Alison had practised the art of healing at Boarhills, a village in the parish of St Andrews; latterly she had carried her practice into the city, where she had been consulted by Archbishop Adamson. She used no charms or incantations, but "herbis" and "sawis"; also a simple regimen,—and it was shown that she had been instructed in the art of healing by her relative, William Sympsoune, a physician at Edinburgh, son of the royal blacksmith at Stirling. But Alison, with a view to surprise the court, or deter the severity of her persecutors, owned that she "had many gude friendis" at the fairy court. The admission sealed her doom. Tried at Edinburgh on the 28th May 1588, the words "convicta et combusta" on the margin of the justiciary record certify the issue. A few months prior to Alison's trial, the Presbytery of St Andrews resolved to deprive Archbishop Adamson of his ministerial office, and about the time when his protégé was condemned to the stake, the General Assembly pronounced upon himself the sentence of excommunication.

In July 1590 the Justiciary Court was occupied with the case of Katherine Ross, Lady Foulis, who was indicted for witchcraft at the instance of the king's advocate, and Hector Munro, of Foulis, her son-in-law. In the indictment she was charged with making two clay pictures, one for the destruction of Robert

Munro, younger of Foulis, the other for wasting the life of Marjory Campbell, spouse of Ross, younger of Balnagowan, also for shooting elf-arrow heads at her intended victims. She was also charged with several attempts at poisoning. Lady Munro was acquitted. By the Justiciary Court Janet Grant and Janet Clark were, on the 17th August 1590, condemned to "be wirreit at staiks, and their bodies to be burnt in assis" for the "distructioune of saxteene heid of nolt," "the rasing of the Deuill," and the "slauchter of Johnne Pantounis wyffe be witchcraft." On the day following the Court considered the case of Bessie Roy. In her indictment occurred these words :—

"Thou are indytit and esteemit for ane notoriouse and commowne wiche in the cuntrie, and can do all thingis, has done all mischiefis that deuilrie or wichcraft can devyse, in abstracting of menis lyffis, wemennes milk, bestis milk, and bewitching of bestis als weill as menne."

In particular, Bessie was charged with having practised an act of sorcery "tuel yeiris syne." She had "maid ane compas in the eird, and ane hoill in the middis thairof," and from this hole had extracted three worms, on seeing which she predicted "that the guidman (her master) sould leve," that a child with which her mistress was pregnant "sould leve," and that "the guidwife sould dee, quhilk com to pas." As the jury were not satisfied as to her guilt, she was assoilzied.

That persons arraigned on charges of incantation

and sorcery should escape death by acquittal was, in King James's estimation, sufficient to bring ruin upon the kingdom, and invoke the Divine displeasure upon the Church. At his instance it was arranged that such juries or members of assize courts as permitted sorcerers to escape should be subjected to prosecution for "wilful errour"—that is, be made liable to imprisonment and confiscation. At the trial of twelve jurors for acquitting an alleged witch, in June 1591, James sat with the judges upon the bench. On humbling themselves, and acknowledging "ignorant errour," the jurors were excused.

Connected with James's personal history there is a strange narrative of supposed sorcery, the particulars of which we chiefly derive from a rare black-letter tract of the period, entitled "Newis from Scotland." During his absence in Denmark in the winter of 1589-90, when celebrating his marriage with Anne of Denmark, James entrusted the administration of affairs to Francis, Earl of Bothwell. Subsequently charged with an attempt to overthrow the royal authority, Bothwell was accused of seeking by the art of sorcery to raise a tempest which might destroy the royal squadron while James was returning with his queen. The narrative proceeds:—David Seaton, "deputie bailiffe" of Tranent, had a servant girl named "Geillis Duncane," who of a sudden began to absent herself during night, and to profess the gift of

healing. Suspecting that she did not perform her cures "by naturall and lawful menis," and as she refused to make any confession, Seaton proceeded to examine her by torture. He applied the pilnie-winks,[1] and wrenched her head with a rope. As she still refused to divulge her secret, she was examined by pricking, when the devil's mark was discovered "in the fore part of her throate." Geillis now emitted "a confession." Alleging that she had made a compact with the devil, she accused several persons of both sexes as sharers in her guilt. Of the males accused by her the most conspicuous was Dr John Cunningham or Fean, schoolmaster at Prestonpans. Among the females were Mrs Barbara Napier, wife of Archibald Douglas, brother to the laird of Carshogle, and Mrs Euphan MacCalzane, daughter and heiress of the late Lord Cliftonhall, and wife of Patrick Moscrop, advocate. But the most culpable of the group, according to her confession, was one Agnes Sampson, midwife at Keith, near Haddington, a woman who hitherto was respected for her generosity, honesty, and intelligence. All whom Duncan accused being seized and incarcerated, James, who had returned from Denmark, resolved to exercise his skill by examining them severally. Brought before him at Holyrood, Agnes Sampson, the eldest of the prisoners, protested her innocence, and main-

[1] See vol. ii. p. 61.

tained that she had nothing to divulge concerning arts of which she was ignorant. James commanded that she should be examined for the devil's mark, and that her head "be thrawn with a rope, according to the custom." After enduring the most excruciating agony, Agnes expressed her willingness to make a confession. Reconducted into the royal presence, she declared that she belonged to a company of two hundred witches who sailed in sieves and riddles along the coast to meet the devil at the kirk of North Berwick. There the devil imposed upon her the work of accomplishing the king's death. "She took a blacke toade, and did hang the same up by the heeles three daies, and collected and gathered the venom as it dropped and fell from it in ane oister-shell, and kept the same venom close covered until she should obtaine anie parte or peece of foule linen cloth that had appertained to the Kinges majestie, as shirt, handkercher, napkin, or any other thing, which she practised to obtaine by means of ane John Kers, an attendant in his majestie's chamber." When the King was in Denmark, "she tooke a cat and christened it, and afterward bound to each part of that cat the cheefest part of a dead man, and several jointis of his bodie." The creature thus accoutred was conveyed "into the middest of the sea" by the entire company of witches. The event was followed by the wreck of a vessel crossing between Burntisland and Leith, which con-

tained "sundrie jewelles and rich giftes," intended for the Queen "at her majesties coming." James, who had not heard of the disaster, began to suspect the confessor, and accused her of telling lies. "Lies!" exclaimed Mrs Sampson, "did not your majesty's ship experience the contrary wind more than the other vessels of the fleet?" James admitted that this was so. "That was the cat," said Mrs Sampson. Agnes now took hold of the King by the sleeve and led him aside. He reported that she had told him "the verie wordis that passed between him and the Queen the first evening of their marriage."

Rejoicing in his insight into the arts of sorcery, James sent frequently for Mrs Sampson, also for Geillis Duncan. The latter entertained him by performing the dances which were enacted in North Berwick church, at the weekly rendezvous; she also sung snatches of verse which accompanied the dances, such as the following:—

> "Commer, goe ye before, Commer, goe ye,
> Gif ye will not goe before, Commer, let me."

By practising on the royal credulity, Mrs Sampson had persuaded herself she would save her life. The king's faith, she said, had enabled him to triumph over Satanic arts. She further assured him that the devil had informed her that his majesty was in the world his most powerful enemy. She named to the king the charms which she used in healing, and

sought to make clear that her cures were effected in the name of God, not in that of Satan. Her usual charm, she said, consisted in these lines—

"All kindis of illis that ewir may be in Crystis name I conjure ye;
I conjure ye, baith mair and les, with all the vertues of the messe,
And rycht sa, with the naillis sa that naillit Jesus, and na ma,
And rycht sa, be the samen blude that raikit oure the ruithful ruid
Furth of the flesch and of the bane, and in the eird, and in the stane,
I conjure ye in Goddis name."

Witches were believed not to pray, but Mrs Sampson assured the King that she prayed on every suitable occasion. Her several efforts to excite admiration and sympathy proved unavailing; for when weary of her revelations, James committed her for trial. By the court she was sentenced "to be tane to the castell of Edinburgh, and there bund to ane staik and wirreit, quhill she be died; and thereafter hir body to be brint in asis." Dr John Cunningham, one of the accused, was a considerable scientist; besides giving instruction as a schoolmaster, he practised medicine. As he continued to protest his innocence of sorcery, he was subjected to tortures singularly revolting. His finger nails were torn off, and needles thrust into the wounds. Next his fingers were shattered in the pilniewinks, and his limbs crushed in the boot.

Pins were forced into his tongue, cheeks, and palate, and his head was wrenched with cords. In the hope of averting further torment, he at length offered "a confession." It embraced the usual relation as to weekly meetings with the Evil One, and as to the raising of a tempest to destroy the royal fleet. Rejoiced that so obstinate a warlock had succumbed, James summoned an assize. Cunningham was in twenty different articles or counts charged with taking part in a convention of witches who had assembled with the devil to impede the progress of the King's fleet; with opening locks in absence of the keys; with possessing a purse "with moudiewart feet," given him by Satan; and with having accepted the devil's command to deny God, also to destroy mankind both by land and sea. With indignation and scorn Cunningham repelled the charges, and refused to acknowledge a "confession" wrung from him by torture. On the application of the boot his limbs were crushed till "the bluid and marrow spouted forth." And as he persisted in affirming his innocence, he was thrust into a cart, and being first strangled, his body was cast "into a great fire, being readie provided for that purpose, and there burned on the Castlehill of Edinburgh." This enormity was perpetrated in January 1591-2.

By the jury Mrs Barbara Napier was acquitted, but the jurors were in consequence subjected to trial for

"wilful errour." Mrs MacCalzane of Cliftonhall, whom Geillis Duncan had also accused, was found guilty of attempting to destroy several persons by incantation, including the King and her own husband. She was also convicted of raising the tempest which disturbed the King's ship, and of having prepared a waxen image of his Majesty with a diabolic purpose. Her sentence was that she should not be "wirreit" or strangled, but burned alive. This horrible decree was fully carried out, and the forfeited estate of Cliftonhall was conferred on Sir James Sandilands. Geillis Duncan, who, in the hope of saving her own life, had accused others, was also condemned and burned. Another sufferer was Richard Grahame, who, as a supposed accessory, was, on the 29th February 1591-2, strangled and burned at the Cross of Edinburgh. To the last Grahame asserted that the Earl of Bothwell had magical consultations as to the King's death. He set forth that he had personally raised the devil on several occasions, once in the laird of Auchinleck's dwelling-place, and once in the yard of the house in the Canongate belonging to Sir Lewis Bellenden, the late Justice-Clerk. In his "Staggering State," Sir John Scot, who refers to the devil-raising in Bellenden's premises, affirms that the judge was so frightened at the spectacle that "he took sickness and thereof died." The laird of Auchinleck had already been charged with sorcery, for on the 5th

March 1590 he was expected to appear before the Privy Council to answer to the charge. Of that date the Council minute bears that [John] Boiswell of Auchinleck "not onlie hes oft and divers tymes consulted with witcheis, bot alswa he himselff practized witchcraft, sorcerie, inchantment, and utheris divilishe practizeis, to the dishonour of God, sklender of his worde, and grite contempt of his Hienes, his authoritie and laweis;" and further, having failed to appear when called upon, he was denounced a rebel.[1] From the imputation of compassing the King's death Bothwell eloquently vindicated himself in a letter addressed to the clergy of Edinburgh.[2] In June 1591 he effected his escape from Edinburgh Castle.

Simultaneously with these occurrences other persons of rank were subjected to imputations of sorcery. In the "Faithful Narrative of the Great Victory obtained by George Gordon, Earl of Huntly, and Francis Hay, Earl of Errol, Catholic Noblemen, over Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyle, at Strathaven, in the north of Scotland, 3d October 1594," Argyle is charged with seeking the companionship of a witch, with the view of discovering through her instrumentality the concealed property of the inhabitants. Several years later, according to the author of the "Staggering State," Lady Elizabeth

[1] Privy Council, Reg. iv., 591.

[2] Calderwood's History, v., 150, 156.

Stewart, wife of Captain James Stewart, Earl of Arran, and daughter of John, fourth Earl of Athole, was informed by witches that she would become the greatest woman in Scotland, and that her husband would have the highest head in the kingdom, which was fulfilled by her dying of dropsy, and her slain husband having his head elevated on a spear!

On the 24th June 1596, John Stewart, master of Orkney, was indicted for consulting with Alison Barbour, a convicted witch, for the destruction by poison of his brother, Patrick Earl of Orkney. The charge was departed from, and while his brother the Earl was afterwards as a rebel condemned and executed, he personally attained royal favour, and was raised to the peerage as Lord Kinclaven. He subsequently was created Earl of Carrick.

On the 12th of November 1597, Janet Stewart, in the Canongate, and three other women, were in the Justiciary Court tried for healing by enchantment. Their medicines were those ordinarily in use, but they had likewise recourse to charms, such as the washing of their patients' clothing in "south-rynnand water," suspending amulets round their necks and burning straw at the corners of their beds. Declared guilty of demoniacal practices, there was pronounced upon them the usual sentence, that they should be "tane to the Castle Hill of Edinburgh, and there wirreit and brint."

James Reid, in Corstorphine, was, on the 31st July 1603, burned at Edinburgh. He had acquired his art of healing from the devil, whom he met in "the liknes of a man, quhyles in the liknes of a hors."

Patrick Lowrie, residing at Halrie, Ayrshire, was, in July 1605, arraigned for sorcery in the Justiciary Court. He was charged with "bewitching milk ky," "bewitching Bessie Sawers coirnis," and "striking a woman blind, and then restoring her to sight." The indictment further bore that he had held converse with the Evil One "in the liknes of ane woman," receiving from him "ane hair belt, in ane of the endis of the quhilk appeirit the similitude of foure fingeris and ane thombe, nocht far different from the clawis of the devil." The Lord Advocate having warned the jury to beware of "wilful errour," they returned the usual verdict.

In 1607, Isobel Grierson was burnt for witchcraft. She had, in the house of Adam Clark, at Prestonpans, in the likeness of his own cat, frightened his household, more especially his maid-servant. She had also at Prestonpans disturbed by her enchantments the family of a man named Brown, to whom she appeared as "ane infant bairn." In December of the same year, Barbara Paterson, in Newbattle, was, at the instance of the Presbytery of Dalkeith, arraigned before the Commissioners of Justiciary for healing diseases by incantation. She had recommended as

remedial the water of the Dow Loch, instructing those who used it to say, "I lift this stoup in the name of the Father, Sone, and Haly Gaist, to do guid for thair helth for quhom it is liftit." Barbara was on her trial pronounced a sorceress, and condemned.

In the Sheriff Court of Orkney and Zetland, on the 23rd June 1616, were tried two men and five women on different charges of sorcery. From the Court-book[1] we glean the following details :—

Agnes Scottie was charged "with committing and practiseing the divilishe and abominable cryme of witchcraft, in that she, vpoun ane Sonday befoir the sone rysing, about fastings-evin, came to ane wall besyd James Corrigillis hous, and thair wosch[ed] hir face and certane partis of hir claythis ; and Robert Gadie persaveing hir, quha wes servant to the said James, contractit presentlie ane trembling and shuddering in his flesh, tuik seiknes, and thairefter dyit. . . . Item, for that seven yeiris syne or thairby, sche haveing discordit with vmquhill William Tailzeouris sister, quha comin to reprove hir for hir evill speiches aganes hir sister, in quhais face she spat, being on a Sonday,—the said William immediatlie thairefter conceaveit a great fear and trembling in his flesch, contractit seiknes, and dyit on Weddinsday thairefter. Item, for that Nicoll Smyth havein takin ane cottage fra the gudman of Brek, quhilk wes in hir possession, and haveing transportit his cornes thair, she cam about hallowmes, being washing hir claithes, and laid thame on his corne, and nocht on hir awin, and set ane cog full of watter in the said Nicollis way, quha in the cuming by cust ouir the samen, thairefter contractit ane great seiknes. His vmquhill master, callit Mans Matthes, cumand to reprove hir for his manes seiknes, efter she haid tuckit him and given him mony injurious wordis, he conceaveit

[1] Sheriff Court Book of Orkney and Zetland, preserved in the General Register House.

ane great fear and trembling, contractit seiknes, and within sevin dayis thairefter dyit." . . .

William Guide was charged with "practiseing, &c., in that Robert Mowat, youngar, haveing fyit his dochter, Jonet Guide, and he detening the said Jonet fra the said Robertis service, obtenit ane decreit befoir the bailie for hir fie, and cuming to poynd thairfor, the said William promeisit that he sould deir buy that fie, and sa it fell out that his cornes being als guid as ony of his nychtbouris, he could not get na malt of his beir, for the quhilk the said William, being bayth suspectit and sclanderit, com to the said Robertis barne and tuitcheit baith the cornes freschen and vnfreschen, and baid him mak malt of it, for he said he sould answer that it sould be guid enouch malt, and sa it fell out." . . . "For that Sara Stewart, spous to Patrik Boag, haveing caft certane beir quhilk wes givin to him to mak malt of, the beir being sufficient, the malt being returnit fra him, and browen be thame, the aill thairof did stink sa that nane could drink thairof. Thairefter she coft fra Jone Sclatter, in Birsay, ane meill malt, the said William being present, and held vp the malt quhill it wes weyit, and tryit to be sufficient malt. The said Sara reproveing him then for hir first malt went hame to brew the said meill malt quhilk taistit of nathing bot of verie watter, efter the brewing the said Sara and hir husband baith reproveing him for the same, assuiring him that they wald delate him for witchcraft. Immediatelie thairefter he cam to the hous, and that aill that tastit of nathing bot watter of befoir wes sufficient guid aill, and gif thair haid bein ten barrellis thairof it haid bein sauld, or he zeid out of the hous. Item, that haveing aft and dyvers tymes desyreit the len of ane scheret sheilling fra James Hunton in —— quha haveing denyit the same hes continuallie sen syne dwynit in seiknes laid on him be his divelrie and witchcraft. Item, for this yeir on Beltane day last in the morneing, he cuming to William Kirknes' hous, and desyreing ane cashie of hay fra him, quhilk being given to him immediatlie thairefter that same day ane foill of the said William Kirknessis died, and on the morne ane meir with foill lykwayes dyit, and his haill guidis hes continuallie decayit sen syne be his divelrie and witchcraft. Item, that he

and his dochter haveing ane lamb going in Mans Futtspurres corne, and about his hous, cuming in to the said Mans, his stable, his hors strampit vpon the leg of the said lamb and brak it, for the quhilk the said William prayit evill for the said Mans, and that same yeir his four hors and his oxen died, quhilk wes done be his divelrie and witchcraft." . . .

Magnus Linay was charged with, &c., inasmuch "that his sone being keiping his ky, and suffering thame to go in Robert Grayis corne in Watle, the said Robert finding his ky in his corne, gave his sone ane cuff, quhilk the said Magnus perceaveing fleitt with the said Robert thairfoir, and assuirit him that he sould repent that straik, and that same day being about lambmes tua yeiris syne or thairby, the best hors that he had dyit, and his haill bestiall, hors, nalt, and sheip hes dyit, and nathing thryves with him sen syne."

Against Linay's wife, Geillis Sclaitter, was preferred the charge of witchcraft on these grounds—viz., "that she cuming by the said Robert airlie in the morning —— yeiris syne or thairby, quhen he wes first yoking his pleuch she wold nather speik to him nor bid him God speid; fra that tyme furth his hors did him no gud quhill they all dyit at anes be hir divelrie and witchcraft. Item, for that Robert Cumlaquoy, shipheard in Birsay, haveing cumit to duell besyd hir, and haveing tua milk ky quhilk chancit to cum on hir gers and corne, she most maliciouslie and divelishlie callit aft and dyvers tymes vpon the divell and baid him tak these ky. Immediatlie thairefter quhen the ky cam hame the ane insteid of milk gave bluid the spaice of ten dayis, and haveing na profeit of his milk the said Robertis wyff requyrit the haill nychtbouris wyffis to cum and kirne with hir, quha cam all except she quha refuisit to cum. Item, for that they bayth accompanyit the Egyptianes they delyverit to thame fyve quarteris of gray claith, thrie elnes quhyt blanketing, ane sark, and ane pair shone, and leirnit to tak the profeit of thair nychtbouris cornes and ky of the saidis Egyptianes as the captane of thame declairit."

With the abominable cryme of witchcraft Marable Couper was charged, 'in sa far as she said to hir brother-in-law, James Spence, in gryt malice and dispyt, ye have litle cornes and gudis this yeir bot

ye sall have les the nixt, quhilk come ouir sure to pas, as lykwayis in winter last the tyme of the first gryt wyndis that nycht she wes fund in the said James' barneyeard about midnycht lowsing the simingis of his hay and casting it ouir hir head and cutting the simingis of his cornes, quha sensyne hes lost the haill proffeit thairof be hir divilrie and witchcraft. Item, for that Robert Peibles in Birsay haveing discordit with hir, he thairefter contractit seiknes and sent aft and divers tymes for hir, at last cuming himselff avowit he sould caus burne hir gif he obtenit nocht his health. Efter these wordis he daylie recoverit his health be hir divilrie. Item, for that Andro Cowperis wyfe passing to the bankis haveing tedderit hir kow in the said Marable's yeard quhill she sould have spoken with James Spence in Birsay benorth, she cumis in to the said James Spence's hous quhair the said Andro Couperis wyfe wes fleat with hir, quha immediatlie come to tak furth hir kow, quhilk kow they fand lyand strikit on heid and feit and laying hir befor the said Marables dore, assureing hir gif the kow ouir come nocht agane, she sould he brunt as a witch. Immediatelie thairefter the kow ouircome and wes alsweill as she wes. Item, for that Agnes Ingsetter, spous to Jone Mowat in Birsay, and the said Marable haveing discordit sche tuik seiknes and lost hir heall sincis, and haveing sent for the said Marable divers tymes sche wald nocht cum, quhill they promeisit to dilait hir for a witch gif she refuisit. Thairefter she haveand cum and she laying handis on hir she convaleshit and receaveit hir sinces agane be hir divelrie and witchcraft. . . . Item, for that Andro Peibles and his wyfe being drynking in hir hous and haveing callit hir ane witch, the said Marable cust ane coall peat at his face and bled him thairwith. Immediatlie thairefter he past to and fra as ane man wanting discretioun and knowledge, and knew nocht quhat he did. Barbaray couper, his wyfe accuseing hir for wounding of hir husband returnit this answer that he haid nocht gottin all that he sould get. Immediatlie he contractit seiknes. The said Marable being aft desyrit to cum and visit him refuisit, quha dyit within ane moneth thair efter be hir divilrie and witchcraft." . . .

Against Agnes Tulloch was charged the "abominable cryme of witchcraft, inasmuch that Marjorie Swonay, being chargeit to the

toun in Maister Jone Dishingtounes tyme[1] for sindrie poyntis of witchcraft, sche said to the said Agnes Zullock, gif she come nocht home agane, mak hir to pas that same way, for said she, 'Ye have als guid skill as I.' Item, for that sa lang as James Swonay interteinit hir in his hous his cornes and guidis prosperit, bot alsoone as she went out of his hous he lost baith the profeit of his cornes and guidis be hir divilrie and witchcraft. Item, for that Oliver Faquoy, and Marioun Sclatter, his wyfe, thrie yieris syne or thereby, passing to the hous of Scorne to ane arff, the said Agnes being thair. The guidwyfe of Scorne being seik, the said Marioun Sclatter fand falt for hir being thair. Quha immediatlie tuik seiknes, and thairefter send for the said Agnes, and recoverit hir health be hir divilrie. Item, for that sum evill speiches being betwix Marioun Lincletter, spous to Henrie Growgar in Birsay, and Elspeth Browne, spous to David Mair thair, the said Agnes come to the said Heirryes hous, and thair fleat w^t^ the said Marioun Lincletter, quha immediatlie thairefter contractit seiknes and dyit. The guidwyf of Langskaill, reproveing hir thairof, sche lykwayis fell seik, and lay fourtein dayis, and haveing send for the said Agnes, threattining to dilait hir, the said Agnes tuicheing hir, sche recoverit hir health." . . .

Helen Wallas was "indytit" for witchcraft chiefly on the following grounds:—"That William Holland and she haveing discordit for ane peice of gras, the said William being keiping his kyne on the said gers, sche come to him, and efter mony injurious wordis, raif the curtch aff her heid and pat it vnder hir belt, shuik hir hair about hir [head], and ran to the Laidie Chappell hard by, and went thryse about it vpoun hir bair kneis, prayand cursingis and maledictiounes lycht vpoun the said William, and thairefter come to the said William his hous, and zeid sa about his fyir syde, and did the lyk; and thairefter cuming furth quhair his guidis wes pasturing, said thir wordis to thame following:—

[1] Mr Andrew [not John] Dishington, ordained minister of Stromness in 1595, was translated to Rousay and Eglishay in 1601, and from thence to Walls and Flotta in 1613. He died prior to June 1627.

(Gleib wind luik in the air of the lift, and never have power to eat meat.) Swa it fell out that his beastis dwyneit away daylie be hir divilrie. Item, in doing of the lyk to David Wod in Marsetter, ane yeiris syne or thairby. Item, in that Adame Bewis, in ——, being a young man, and owand hir dochter, sche desyrit him to mak tua corssis, and lay in the watter ane for the man and the vther for the woman, and cast his left fute shoe over the hous, and gif it fell to the hous he wald speid, and gif fra the hous he wald nocht. . . . Item, in that in beir seidtyme a yeir syne, Peter Hollandis wyfe come to the said Helen, the said Petter being seik, and askit at hir quidder or nocht hir husband wald die or leive. The said Helen commandit hir to tak his left fute shoe and cast it ouir the hous, and said gif the mouth of it fell vp he wald leive, and gif doun he wald die. Item, for that hir dochter haveing cum to the gudwyfe of Wall, and desyrit sum meall and a drink of milk, quhilk being offerit to hir, sche desyrit that the milk and the meall mycht be baikeit togither, quhilk being done, the gudwyfe of Wall gave hir the half thairof, quhilk she caryit to the said Helen, hir mother, and thairefter the kow that gave the milk lost hir milk, and gave onlie bluid, quhill Hallowmes being half a yeir thairefter."

On these charges the Procurator-Fiscal demanded that the prisoners "sould be adjudgeit and condempnit to the death, and all thair landis, guidis, and geir to be escheit and inbrocht to his Majesties vse." . . .

The accused having pleaded not guilty, "the Judges remittit the haill poyntis of dittayis to the knawledge of ane assyse."

Twenty-two jurors were sworn, of whom nine were landowners, and as the result of their deliberation they "fylit" the whole of the prisoners. After an adjournment, the judges pronounced on each a sentence of banishment, some being exiled from their parishes, others from "the cuntries."

In August 1623, Thomas Greave, from Kinross,

was in the Justiciary Court charged with effecting cures by means of enchantment. By three ministers of the Presbytery of Dunfermline were produced "depositions" in support of the indictment. Greave was charged with passing his patients through "an hesp of yairne," "using inchantit watter," and making crosses and figures on the under garments of those seeking his help. A mode of enchantment which he used in curing a bedridden woman was essentially barbarous. He caused "ane grit ffyre to be put on, and an hoill to be maid in the north syde of the hous, and ane quick hen to be put furth thairat at three severell tymes, and taen in at the hous-dur widderschynnes." The hen was now thrust "under the seik woman's okster or airme, and thairfra cayried to the ffyre, quhair it was haldon doun and brint quick thairin." Greave was sentenced "to be wirreit at ane stake, and brint in asches."

According to Sir John Scot,[1] Lilias, daughter of Mark Ker, first Earl of Lothian, and wife of John, eighth Lord Borthwick, was, like her mother, Margaret Maxwell, addicted to "the black art;" he alleges that as a witch she was condemned and burned. By the same gossiping writer we are assured that Robert, second Earl of Lothian, who died in 1624, secretly destroyed in prison at Dalkeith one

[1] "The Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen," edit. 1872, p. 91.

Playfair, styled a wizard, but who seems to have followed the lawful calling of a physician. In January 1630, Sir John Colquhoun of Luss was charged with abduction by means of sorcery. Not answering to the charge, he was put to the horn.

In 1643 Katherine Craigie was burned at Orkney for using charms in the cure of disease. One of these was unique. Into water wherewith she washed the patient she placed three small stones; these being removed from the vessel, were placed on three corners of the patient's house from morning till night, when they were deposited at the principal entrance. Next morning the stones were cast into water, with which the sick person was anointed. The process was repeated every third day till a cure was effected.

On the 29th July 1640, the General Assembly ordained "all ministers carefully to take notice of charmers, witches, and all such abusers of the people, and to urge the Acts of Parliament to be execute against them." In July 1643 the kirksession of Dunfermline sentenced Robert Shortus to sit in sackcloth upon the public place of repentance "for consulting and seeking charms for his wyff." After he had "twa Sundays" endured the discipline, the brethren of the session make record that "he should have sitten before the pulpitt, bot he was pittied." At Dunfermline the expense of conducting prosecutions against witches, and of "watching them in

ward," fell so heavily upon the funds of the Corporation, that the magistrates, on the 16th July 1643, besought landowners and others to assist in liquidating them.[1]

In the General Register House are preserved the "deposition" of John Kincaid, the notorious witch-pricker, also the "confession of Marie Haliburton." In his "deposition" Kincaid relates that, being at the village of Dirleton, "a husband and wife, whose names were Patrik Watson and Marie Haliburton, waited on him, desiring that they might be respectively examined by him, on account of their having long been suspect to be witches." Under the hope of being vindicated from an evil report, both were destined to perish. Making an examination, Kincaid reported that in each he had discovered "the devil's mark." After her husband's execution Marie Haliburton emitted "a confession." She acknowledged that eighteen years before she had an illicit amour with the devil, when she had renounced her baptism. By the local Presbytery Marie was referred to an assize.

On the 5th April 1659 ten women were tried by a commission at Dumfries on different charges of witchcraft. Nine were condemned. Their sentence was thus framed:—

"The commissioners adjudge Agnes Comenes, Janet M'Gowane,

[1] Kirksession Records of Dunfermline, July 1643.

Jean Tomson, Margaret Clerk, Janet M'Kendriq, Agnes Clerk, Janet Corsane, Helen Moorhead, and Janet Cullon, as found guiltie of the severall articles of witchcraft mentioned in the dittayes to be tane, upon Wednesday come eight days, to the ordinar place of execution for the burghe of Dumfries, and ther, betuing 2 and 4 hours of the afternoon, to be strangled at staikes till they be dead, and therefter their bodyes to be burned to ashes, and all ther moveable goods to be escheite. Further, it is ordained that Helen Moorhead's moveables be intromitted with by the Sheriff of Nithsdaile, to seize upon and herrie the samin for the King's use."

At a meeting held on the same day, the Presbytery of Dumfries passed the following deliverance :—

"The Presbytery have appoynted Mr Hugh Henrison, Mr Wm. M'Gore, Mr George Campbell, Mr John Brown, Mr Jo. Welsh, Mr George Johnston, Mr Wm. Hay, and Mr Gabriel Semple, to attend the nine witches, and that they tak their own convenient opportunity to confer with them ; also, that they be assisting to the brethren of Dumfries and Galloway the day of execution."

For some time after the Restoration, the Privy Council were much occupied in granting commissions for the trial of persons charged with sorcery. On the 7th November 1661 fourteen commissions were so granted. The members had authority not only to dispose of cases specially submitted to them, but to make trial of all persons accused during their sittings, and to "justify them to the death."[1]

"The confession of Janet Watsone," emitted at her trial before a commission, in June 1661, is contained in a "MS. collection" belonging to the Society

[1] Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii., 597.

of Scottish Antiquaries. Janet alleges that the devil appeared to her in the several forms of "ane black doug," "a great bee," and "ane pretty boy in green clothes." When she renounced her baptism, he gave her the name of "Weill Dancing Janet," and promised her money.

In August 1661, John Ray, the naturalist, being on a visit to Scotland, discovered that during that month 120 women were burnt as witches.

In April and May 1662, several witches were "delated" in the county of Moray. Two were examined by John Innes, notary public, in presence of notable persons, who subscribe as witnesses. The depositions bear that they were emitted voluntarily, "without any compulsitorris," or "pressure." Isobel Goudie's "confession" was made at intervals, and her revelations, it is alleged, were confirmed by the testimony of her companion, who was examined elsewhere. Isobel first met the devil on the highway. At this interview she consented to meet him "during night in the kirk of Alderne," and at that meeting she renounced her baptism. Having dedicated herself to the devil's service, one of the weird sisterhood held her up for baptism, when the Evil One made an incision in her shoulder, "suked out" some blood, which he spouted into his hand, and then sprinkled on her head, saying, "I baptise thee to myself in my ain name." Usually the devil appeared as "a very muckle rouche man,"

but he occasionally resembled a deer. He was always "cold;" and though he wore boots, his feet appeared forked and cloven. At his approach, every witch made an obeisance, saying, "You are welcome, owr lord," or, "How doe ye, my lord?"

The witches were divided into "covens," or companies of thirteen. Each had a spiritual attendant, who bore a distinctive name. One called "Swine" was clothed in grass-green, and attended a witch, nick-named "Pickle neirist the wind." The spirit "Rorie" was clad in yellow, and attended the witch known as "Throw the corne yaird." A third spirit, the "Roaring Lion," was arrayed in sea-green; he waited upon the witch "Bessie Rule." "Max Hector," the fourth spirit, attended the witch whose sobriquet was "Ower the dyk with it." "Robert the Rule" was the fifth spirit; he was clothed in satin and commanded the others. The sixth was "Theiff of Hell." The seventh, "Reid Reiver," was apparelled in black, and waited upon Isobel herself. "Robert the Jackis," the eighth spirit, was an "aged, glaiked, gowked spirit;" he waited on the witch "Able and Stout." "Laing," the ninth spirit, attended "Bessie Bauld." The tenth spirit was "Thomas a Fearie." At their unhallowed entertainments, the devil sat at the head of the board, while one of the sisterhood who sat "above a' the rest," waited on him. A wizard "invoked a diabolic grace" in the following rhyme:—

"We eat this meat in the devillis name,
With sorrow and sych and meikle shame;
We sall destroy house and hald
Baith sheip and nowt in the field;
Little good sall com to the fore,
Of all the rest of the little store."

When the meal was concluded, each of the guests looked "steadfastlie to the devill, and exclaimed, "We thank thee, owr lord, for this." Those who absented themselves from the weekly orgies, or otherwise neglected the satanic duties, were "beaten." When the devil was angry, he would "girne lyk a doug." "He wold," said Isobel, "be beatting and scurgeing us all up and doune with cardis (cords), and other sharp scurges, like naked gwhastis, and we wold be still crying, 'Pittie, Pittie! Mercie, Mercie! owr lord.' Bot he wold have neither pittie nor mercie." When in good humour, the devil bestowed on his favourites "the brawest lyk money that euer was coyned; but," added the confessor, "within four-and-twenty houris it wold be horse muck."

The "covens" were held on muirs and in churchyards. They were reached on goblin horses, on which the witches flew up "lyk strawes." To her aerial steed Isobel said, "Horse and hattock in the devillis name," whereupon her spiritual charger rose into the air, and "flie quhair schoe wold." The "Queen of Farie," she had seen among the Downie hills, "brawlie clothed in whyt linens, and in whyt and browne

cloathes." The fairy king "was a braw man, weill favoured and broad-faced." Isobel found in fairyland "elf bullis routting and shouting up and doune." Declaring that witches assumed the forms of the lower animals, she remarked that when one of the sisterhood proposed to pass into a hare, she exclaimed—

"I sall gae intil ane hare,
With sorrow and sych and meikle care;
And I sall gae in the devillis name,
Ay quhill I com hom againe."

That she might resume the human form the witch exclaimed—

"Hare, hare, God send thee caire,
I am in an hares liknes just now,
But I sal be in a womanis liknes euin now."

When the form of a cat was proposed, the witch exclaimed—

"I sall gae intil a catt,
With sorrow and sych and a blak strat;
And I sall gae in the devillis name,
Ay quhill I com hom againe."

To raise a tempest, the witch beat on a stone a portion of wet rag with a timber mell, thrice shouting—

"I knok this ragg wpon this stane,
To raise the win in the devillis name;
It sall not lye vntil I please againe."

To mitigate a storm the rag was dried, and these words expressed—

"We lay the wind in the devillis name,
It sall not ryse quhill we lyk to raise it againe."

To prevent fishermen from "making speed" the witch exclaimed—

> "The fisheris ar gane to the sea,
> And they will bring hame fische to me;
> They will bring thaim hame intil the boat,
> Bot they sall gett of thaim bot the smaller sort."

When casting enchanting mixtures upon a farmer's stocking, the sisterhood would sing—

> "We putt this intil this hame
> In our lord the devillis name;
> The first handis that handles thee,
> Brint and scalded sall they be!
> We sall destroy hous and hald,
> With the sheip and nout intil the fald,
> And little sall come to the fore
> Of all the rest of the little store."

In shooting elf-arrows at the strayed traveller, the witch called out—

> "I shoot you man in the devillis name;
> He sall nott win heall hame;
> And this sall be also trew,
> Thair sall not be ane bit of him blew."

Isobel had seen "the elf-arrows maid." "The devil," she said, "dights them, and the elf-boyes quhytes (blocks) them." Every witch received a handful for destructive purposes. Isobel enumerated a list of persons whom she and her witch-sisterhood had killed with elf-shot. But in causing death, figures were used more than elf-arrows. Clay "was made

verie small, lyke meall, and sifted with a sieve," then it was fashioned into a representation of the person intended for destruction, and "placed near the fire and weel rostin." This course was enacted daily, till the person whom it represented perished from exhaustion. Mr Harrie Forbes, minister at Auldearn, had rendered himself obnoxious to the witches of his neighbourhood. He was visited with sickness, and, in order that it might be protracted, an infernal mixture was prepared, over which the sisterhood chaunted these rhymes—

"He is lying in his bed; he is lying sick and sair;
Let him lye intil his bed two monthis and thrie dayes mair;
Let him lye intil his bed; let him lye intil it sick and sore;
Let him lye intil his bed monthis two and thrie dayes more;
He sall lye intil his bed; he sall lye in it sick and sore;
He sall lye intil his bed two monthis and thrie dayes more."

The pain-inflicting mixture of Isobel and her companions consisted of "ane bagg of gallis, flesh and guttis of toadis, pickles of bear, paringis of naillis, the brainis of ane hare, and bittis of cloutis." Another mixture used by the Satanic sisterhood was composed of an unchristened child "hatched up with nail-parings, pickles of grain, and kail-blades." The ailments of friendly persons were cured by Isobel and her companions.

When they expressed these words, fevers of all sorts were expelled—

"I forbid the quaking feaveris,
The sea feaveris, the land feaveris,

And all the feaveris that euir God ordained,
Out of the heid, out of the heart,
Out of the bak, out of the sydis,
Out of the kneyis, out of the thies;
Fra the pointis of the fingeris
To the nebis of the taes
Out sall the feaver gae;
Som to the hill, som to the hap,
Som to the stane, some to the stak,
In Saint Peteris name, Saint Paullis name,
And all the saintes of heavin,
In the name of the Father, the Sone, and of the Halie Gaist."

The notorious wizard, Major Weir, was executed at the Gallowlee, near Edinburgh, on the 14th April 1676. A native of Clydesdale, he had served in the army, and about the year 1650 was appointed superintendent of tide-waiters at Leith. He was noted for his religious pretentiousness and his facility in prayer. Among his confessions, he declared that his devotional power was derived from his staff, over which he was in the habit of leaning. When Weir was burned, the staff was consumed along with him. His sister was also burned.

In the autumn of 1696, the people of the western counties were disturbed by the strange reports which reached them from Bargarran, in Renfrewshire. Christian Shaw, daughter of the laird of Bargarran, a girl of eleven years, petulantly charged Catherine Campbell, the maid who attended her, of drinking and stealing. Catherine resented the imputations, and a

quarrel ensued. Some days afterwards Miss Shaw seemed to undergo violent convulsions. During her paroxysms she appeared to discharge from her mouth egg-shells, orange-peel, hair, feathers, pins, and hot cinders. She also professed to talk with invisible beings, and to see and hear persons who were unseen and unheard by those around her. Claiming the gift of inspiration, she offered a commentary on portions of Scripture. Next she denounced her attendant as a witch, and as the cause of her malady, and emphatically exhorted her to repentance. The entire neighbourhood was moved. For the young maiden and her relatives the brethren of the Presbytery publicly prayed, and the ministers of the neighbouring parishes visiting the house of Bargarran, there watched by turns. As the manifestations actively continued, the Presbytery appointed a day of prayer and humiliation, and on the occasion several preached from texts believed to be appropriate. But the damsel still continued to discharge egg-shells and orange-peel, cinders, and horse hair, to strangely contort her countenance, and upon an open Bible to talk in rhapsody. Visiting her apartment, the Sheriff made "precognitions," whereon the Privy Council issued a special commission. Among the commissioners were the Lord Blantyre, Sir John Maxwell of Pollok and Sir John Shaw of Greenock, also other gentlemen of the district. Their sittings commenced on the 19th January 1697, and a

report was issued in the following March. Encouraged by the attention she had excited, Miss Shaw extended the area of her denunciations. In addition to her nurse, she charged as sorcerers twenty-three others of both sexes, one being a boy of her own age. Not questioning her veracity, the commissioners reported her revelations to the Privy Council. They were consequently re-appointed, with the addition of several lawyers at Edinburgh, and were authorised to "judge and do justice." They condemned seven persons, from five of whom had been elicited "confessions."[1]

Further to enlighten their fellow-countrymen respecting the nature of sorcery, and the importance of suppressing it, the Privy Council in 1685 granted special protection for eleven years to the copyright of a book which set forth the detection and punishment of those charged with the Satanic arts. This work, entitled "Satan's Invisible World Discovered," was composed by Mr George Sinclair, Professor of Philosophy at Glasgow, and an ordained minister of the Church. Mr Thomas Blackwell, latterly Principal of Marischal College, was, when minister of Paisley,—a charge to which he was ordained in 1694,—conspicuous as an

[1] The particulars of the Bargarran narrative, with its tragic results, were collected by John MacGilchrist, town-clerk of Glasgow, and embodied in a pamphlet composed by Sir Francis Grant, advocate, afterwards a judge by the title of Lord Cullen, a man of ardent piety and judicial learning.

inquisitor in witchcraft. With his Presbytery he was concerned in preferring an indictment against an alleged wizard at Inverkip, who was accused of instructing John Hunter to scatter sour milk on his field at Beltane, so as to make his own corn grow, and his neighbour's to go back. Hunter was also charged by Mr Blackwell with the curing of convulsion fits by the following charm:—In a piece of cloth he sewed up nail-parings and hairs from the eyelashes and crown of the head, also a small coin, and so placed the package that it might be picked up by some one, who would forthwith have the malady transferred to him. In spite of Mr Blackwell's activities, Hunter escaped with a sessional rebuke.[1]

Towards the close of the seventeenth century there began to prevail a general reluctance to prefer charges of sorcery, also to act upon commissions for the detection of enchantment. In 1678 Sir John Clark, the antiquary, declined to act as a commissioner for the trial of a witch, with the humorous remark that "he did not feel himself warlock enough" for such a duty. The parochial and other clergy and some of the rural magistrates vigorously held out. In 1704, Mrs Beatrice Laing, wife of a clothier at Pittenweem, having offended some of her neighbours, they proceeded to denounce her as a witch. She was charged with sorcery along with two other women. One of these,

[1] Dr Cameron Lees' "Abbey of Paisley," p. 327.

named Janet Cornfoot, was beaten to death by an infuriated rabble. By the magistrates of the burgh Mrs Laing was incarcerated in "the tolbooth," and there needles were thrust into "her shoulders, back, and thighs," while her limbs were crushed in the boot. After being kept five days and nights without sleep, she was cast into a loathsome cell, with only a little coarse food to sustain life. Preferring a complaint to the Privy Council, she at length experienced protection.[1] One of those who approved the atrocious cruelties to which she was subjected was the parish minister, Mr Patrick Couper, who himself in pre-Revolution times had suffered grievous persecution, and who was well-esteemed for his personal virtues.[2]

In the year 1705 many witches were burned on the top of Spott Loan.[3] Thereafter witch-executions became rare. On the 3rd May 1709 Elspeth Rule was, at the Dumfries Circuit Court, charged with being "habite and repute a witch;" also with using threats against several persons, who afterwards sustained the loss of cattle, the death of friends, or deprivation of reason. By the jury the indictment was found proven, and the judge, Lord Anstruther,

[1] *Edinburgh Magazine*, October 1817; "The Pittenweem Witches," pp. 199-206.

[2] Fasti Eccl. Scot., ii., 456, 710.

[3] Spott Parish Register.

sentenced the prisoner to be burned in the cheek and sent into exile.

In 1718, the house of Mr Robert M'Gill, minister of Kinross, was believed to be under the influence of sorcery. Some silver spoons and knives, which belonged to Mr M'Gill, were found in the manse barn, broken or "nipped to pieces." Thereafter pins were on the premises found everywhere. In eating an egg, Mr M'Gill discerned a pin within the shell, and from every dish presented at table pins were picked up. Besides the plague of pins, stones and other missiles were thrown about by an invisible hand, while the silver spoons of the family were cast into the fire and melted.[1]

In December 1718, William Montgomerie, a mason in Burnside of Scrabster, represented to the Sheriff-Depute of Caithness that during the preceding month his house had been infested with cats, several of which he had killed or wounded. Thereafter a woman in Owst, named Margaret Nin-Gilbert, professed to drop one of her limbs, and made "confession" that she had appeared to Montgomerie in the likeness of a cat, and that by a stroke received from him her leg had been broken. Subsequently examined in presence of the minister of Halkirk and others,

[1] See "Endorism; or, A Strange Relation of Dreamers, or Spirits that trouble the Minister's House of Kinross," a rare tract, printed in June 1718.

Margaret declared that the devil had appeared to her in the several forms of "a black horse," "a black cloud," and "a black hen." Two weeks after emitting this confession she died in prison, but several women whom she had denounced as witches were detained for trial. About this stage—namely, on the 5th March 1719—Mr Robert Dundas, the Solicitor-General, subsequently Lord President, communicated with the Sheriff in regard to accounts he had received "of very extraordinary if not fabulous discoveries of witchcraft." Mr Dundas asked copies of the depositions, and referring to a rumour that the Sheriff intended to "make a kind of tryall of it in his own court," warned him that it is the special duty of his Majesty's counsel "to advise both as to the proper method and court before which these things are to be prosecute, and to take care that crimes neither be shifted nor too rashly prosecute." Thereupon proceedings seem to have closed.[1]

At Dornoch, in the county of Sutherland, a fatuous old woman of the parish of Loth was, in 1722, condemned as a witch by Captain David Ross of Little Dean, the Sheriff Substitute. The poor creature, when led to the stake, was unconscious of the stir made on her account, and warming her wrinkled hands at the fire kindled to consume her, said she was thankful for so good a blaze. For his rashness

[1] Wodrow MSS., Advocates' Library.

in pronouncing the sentence of death the Sheriff was emphatically reproved.

The reign of superstition was approaching a close. In 1723 the magistrates of Selkirkshire declined to give credit to "a confession" of witchcraft, though attended with circumstances which, in times not long preceding, would have led to a holocaust. On the 11th November 1723, the ferry-boat at the Boldside passage of the Tweed, near Melrose, was freighted with thirty-three persons and a riding horse. As the river was much swollen, the boat on reaching the opposite shore struck heavily against the bank, when sixteen passengers were thrown into the water and drowned. Not long afterwards a woman who lived in the adjoining hamlet offered "the confession" that she was invisibly present in the boat accompanied by the devil. When the fatal concussion occurred she said that "she and her lord were sitting on the boat's prow like twa corbies." As her reward for drowning the sixteen persons, "the foul fiend had entertained her to a rich haggis in Selkirk steeple."

A first effort to repress the belief in sorcery as a punitive crime was made in 1672, when Louis XIV. of France prohibited the Chambers of Justice from receiving any information against enchanters. Upwards of sixty years later a bill was introduced into the British Parliament by Lord Chancellor Talbot, for

repealing the penal statutes against sorcery. In the House of Commons the bill was in its progress vigorously opposed by the Hon. James Erskine of Grange, who had some time previously resigned his seat as a Scottish judge to represent in Parliament the Stirling Burghs. Erskine's resistance was unavailing, and on the 24th June 1735 the sorcery laws ceased to deface the statute-book. To the change the older clergy were with some difficulty reconciled ; and in 1743 the Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh issued an "Address," in which they denounced the repeal of the penal laws against witchcraft as "contrary to the express law of God."

From the year 1479, when the first capital sentence against sorcery was carried out, thirty thousand persons had on the charge of using enchantment been in Great Britain cruelly immolated; of these one-fourth belonged to Scotland. No inconsiderable number of those who suffered on the charge of sorcery laid claim to necromantic arts with intents felonious or unworthy. Others were persons of abandoned lives, addicted to blasphemy, and vendors of poison, who sought to gratify their employers in the base purposes of avarice or revenge.[1] As to the matter of "confessions," the difficulty arising from these has in the light of modern research wholly

[1] "Historical Account of Witchcraft in Scotland," by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Lond., 1884, 12mo, pp. 200, 201.

disappeared. A number of the persons arraigned laboured under delusions incident to cerebral disease, a malady through which their supposed sorcery had arisen. By confessing, others sought relief from excruciating tortures, and prepared for the milder sentence of being strangled at the stake, rather than that of being burned "quick," an ordeal to which the non-confessor was subjected. Others believed that by confessing they would cease to be prosecuted, and that through a declaration their lives would be prolonged. When a supposed witch charged others, she was hopeful that by inveigling numbers in a like guilt she would thereby diminish her own culpability, or even obtain as an informer some measure of indemnity. But the chief motive to "confession" was the desire to accelerate a doom, which, on the whole, was coveted; for she who was accused of witchcraft fell under the dark shadow of a perpetual scorn. Like the leper under the Mosaic law, she was pronounced unclean. Avoided by relatives, shunned by former neighbours, and disowned of mankind, she was denied food and shelter. Under the belief that she had renounced her baptism, sympathy was denied her by those who ordinarily exercised it most. That a desire to escape from the horrors of a universal outlawry induced many of the "confessions," is no matter of conjecture. Sir George Mackenzie, who was a firm believer in sorcery, writes thus: — "A condemned

witch told me under secrecy that she had not confessed because she was guilty, but being a poor creature who wrought for her meat, and being defamed for a witch, she knew she should starve, for no person thereafter would give her meat or lodging, and that all men would beat her, and set dogs at her, and that, therefore, she desired to be out of the world, whereupon she wept most bitterly, and upon her knees called God to witness what she said." "Another told me," adds the same writer, "that she was afraid the devil would challenge a right to her after she was said to be his servant, and would haunt her, as the minister said when he was desiring her to confess, and therefore she desired to die." In the year 1649, the wife of a landowner in Fife, sister of Sir John Henderson of Fordel, was thrown into prison at Edinburgh under the charge of using enchantment. Overpowered by the horror of her situation, she took poison and died. A fine young woman was on the charge of witchcraft executed at Paisley in 1697. On being censured by some friends, who were convinced of her innocence, for not being sufficiently active in her defence, she said, "They have taken away my character, and my life is not worth preserving." In "Satan's Invisible World Discovered," Professor Sinclair relates the following:—"A woman in Lauder was accused of a compact with Satan, but long denied her guilt. When her companions in

prison were removed, being appointed to execution, and she became the occupant of a solitary cell, she offered to make a revelation of her arts. Having so done, she petitioned that she might be put to death with the others on the day fixed for their execution. Unsatisfied with her guilt, and therefore disregarding her confession, her friends, including her clergyman, entreated her to reconsider her averments, and warned her of the sin of compassing her own death. She persisted, and was condemned. At the stake she spoke these words—

"Now all you that see me this day, know that I am now to die as a witch by my own confession, and I free all men, especially the ministers and magistrates, of the guilt of my blood. I take it wholly upon myself; my blood be upon my own head; and as I must make answer to the God of heaven presently, I declare I am as free of witchcraft as any child. But being delated by a malicious woman, and put in prison under the name of a witch; disowned by my husband and friends, and seeing no ground of hope of my coming out of prison, or ever coming in credit again through the temptation of the devil, I made up the confession on purpose to destroy my own life, weary of it, and choosing rather to die than live."

In untutored times a powerful factor is revenge. Probably a third of those who suffered as sorcerers were accused and testified against by those who sought to gratify a personal animosity. And in connection with such charges, calumny was not allowed to be regarded as an offset. At length, in the eighteenth century, when the belief in sorcery was on the wane,

indictments for false charges of necromancy were deemed permissible. On the 4th February 1703, William Alexander, in Drum of Muckarsie, with consent of the Procurator-Fiscal, prosecuted before the Commissary of Dunkeld, James Grigor, formerly of Airntullie, for calling him "ane witch," and charging him with attempting by enchantment to injure his neighbour's cattle. Found guilty of slander Grigor was adjudged to pay a penalty of £200 Scots, also to appear at the door of his parish church "in tyme of Divine service bare-fitted and bare-headed;" and further, "to do what in him lay to restore the prosecutor to his former good credit."[1]

In outlying districts a belief in the power of enchantment was not readily extinguished. About a century ago the prototype of the witch of Carrick shore, celebrated by Burns in "Tam o' Shanter," an inoffensive old woman at Kirkoswald received from the farmers of the district occasional gratuities of meal and money to propitiate her favour. And till the middle of the eighteenth century, some farmers in Forfarshire, including the great-grandfather of the writer, were content to bestow on the ill-favoured old women of their neighbourhood meal and potatoes, to avert "ill weirds." Writing in 1813, the Ettrick Shepherd relates that he was acquainted with two Border farmers, then living, who seriously assured

[1] Commissariot Register of Dunkeld.

him that "they had wounded several old wives with shot as they were traversing the air in the shapes of moorfowl and partridges."

Enchantment was averted by various modes. "Scoring a witch above the breath will destroy her glamour," was a widely accepted adage. According to Dr Somerville, such *scoring* or lacerating was actually performed on a poor woman in the parish of Ancrum, about the year 1775.[1] At a period considerably more recent, the cruel rite was enacted in the vicinity of Edinburgh. During the spring of 1831, an elderly woman, residing at Craigmillar, and who was reputed as "uncanny," asked from a neighbouring housewife the loan of a bit of coal. Being refused, she went off muttering her displeasure. Informed of the occurrence, the husband of the woman who had refused the loan hastened to the dwelling of the intended borrower, and with a sharp instrument wounded her in the forehead. When called on to answer for his outrage, he pleaded that he had "scored the witch to avert skaith."

It was formerly credited that no enchantment could, subsist in a living stream; when a water was crossed the power of the sorcerer waned. Burns's *Tale of Tam o' Shanter* turns upon the circumstance. Potential against skaith was a horse-shoe nailed to

[1] Dr Thomas Somerville's "Life and Times," 1741-1814, p. 366.

the house-door. With a dread of sorcery, Mr Thomas Coutts, the celebrated banker, a native of Scotland, caused two horse-shoes to be affixed to the principal door of Holly Lodge, his suburban residence. In certain localities it was held that an ear of wheat carried in the pocket was a spell against enchantment. A stone from the shore, with one or more natural holes in it, was deemed sufficient to avert the evil eye. In South Uist a Gaelic prayer was, in covering the fire at night, used to secure the general protection. It has by Dr Alexander Stewart been thus translated:

"I will cover up the fire aright,
Even as directed by the Virgin's own Son.
Safe be the house, and safe the fire,
And safe from harm be all the indwellers.
Who is it that I see on the floor?
Even Peter himself, and Paul.
Upon whom shall this night's vigil rest?
Upon the blameless Virgin Mother and her Son;
God's mouth hath spoken it.
A white-robed angel shall gleam in the darkness,
An angel (to keep watch and ward) at the door of each house
Till the return of the morrow's blessed light."[1]

In the Hebrides, Malacca beans, a variety of white nuts, are used as amulets. When the wearer is menaced with enchantment, the nuts are supposed to turn black. Both in the Highlands and Lowlands

[1] "Nether Lochaber," by the Rev. Alexander Stewart, 1883, p. 220.

women formerly broke the ends of egg shells, lest witches should get hold of them, and so raise storms and cause shipwrecks. So recently as 1845 a girl at Louisburgh, near Wick, was suspected of witchcraft. To cure her, a neighbour placed her in a basket along with shavings of wood, and in this manner suspended her over a fire. The shavings were ignited, but the girl was removed from the flames uninjured. In handing her to her friends, the operator remarked that the girl was "not half so witch-like since she had been singed."

For the protection of cattle there were numerous charms. After calving, a cow was made to pass over a live coal, to prevent the witches from taking away her milk. With the same object a silver coin was thrown into the milk-pail. Cattle were deemed safe when boughs of the mountain ash and portions of honeysuckle were brought into the cowhouses. When bits of thread were attached to the horns, necks, and legs of milch cows, witches were held powerless to injure the milk. In their clothes cowherds wore sprigs of the mountain ash as a defence against enchantment. When cattle were affected by the arts of sorcery a stalk of four-leaved clover, attached to their stalls, was believed to be remedial. If a cow was in a drooping condition, a special rite was adopted for her recovery. At Easter, certain drops that lie uppermost on the paschal candle were used in forming

a candle of small size. This was lighted, and so held that it might drop upon the horns and between the ears of the ailing animal. The remaining portion of the candle was then deposited at the threshold of the cowhouse. An enchantress who inflicted disease upon cattle was discovered by the following method :—An article of wearing apparel belonging to the owner of the bewitched cow was thrown across her horns, when the animal, on being let loose, was supposed to proceed in the direction of the witch's dwelling. The enchantress having been discovered, the heart of a calf was placed on a spit before the fire, a pin being stuck in at every turn till it was completely roasted. This charm subjected the enchantress to a similar operation in her own bosom. The roasted heart was ultimately deposited in the cowhouse.

In the western and northern counties a body of persons known as "witch-doctors" provided the means of counteracting enchantment. Early in the eighteenth century a physician at Lochawe, finding that his patients preferred amulets and charms to the use of medicine, gratified their predilections by dispensing portions of the mountain ash; he in consequence obtained a wide reputation, and greatly prospered. Adam Donald, a notable "witch-doctor" in Aberdeenshire, was styled "the prophet of Bethelnie." Born in 1703, he survived till 1780, and was latterly remarkable for his strange dress and uncouth

aspects, also for a persistent reserve, which passed for wisdom. He prescribed both for men and cattle, exacting at each consultation the small sum of sixpence.[1] At Stromness, which he visited in 1814, Sir Walter Scott held an interview with Bessie Millar, who, on receiving sixpence, guaranteed to sailors favourable winds. Bessie disclaimed any preternatural power, alleging that she prayed for the safety of those who sought her aid, and felt sure that her prayer would be answered. She was Scott's prototype of "Norna of the Fitful Head." A young gentleman who resided in Ross-shire in 1867 has described his interview with "a witch-doctor" in these terms :—

"Sent to him by a matron to inquire whether her husband would recover from an illness, he [the exorcist] took the grey mare and led me into the house, or hut, and telling one of his sons to give a feed of malt to the mare, he invited me to sit down. There were no chairs in the room, but four bags of malt were ranged round the fire. The old man handed me a large wooden cup full of whisky, and as there was no bread or meal in the house, he put five or six eggs in a pot and boiled them, one or two of which he ate himself, and I finished the rest. After another cup of whisky, the old man said I must go to bed, and must sleep with him. Indeed, there was only one bed in the house—a large wooden box with folding doors on it. I slept pretty soundly until the old man called on me to get up quickly, as the sun was rising. He made me stand inside the door, while he went out with a wooden dish or pail, which he filled

[1] "The Bee," edited by Dr James Anderson, vol. vi., 1791; "Northern Rural Life," Edin., 1877, pp. 193-9.

with fresh water. The pail was then placed under the lintel, or on the door-step, and I was enjoined to keep quiet. Taking up an old rusty sword, he waved it three times over the water-pail, and at each time repeated—'In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' He now took a half-round piece of crystal or glass, and dropped it in the water, and took what he called the water-kelpie's bridle, and shook it over the pail, repeating the same words. He then filled a wine bottle with the water, and gave it to me, with instructions to sprinkle the invalid's clothes with it. A black-haired woman, I was told, had bewitched the man, but he would get better. This did not turn out to be true, for the man died a few days afterwards. I gave the witch-doctor half a guinea, and five shillings for the bottle of water."

In the "Lady of the Lake" Sir Walter Scott refers to Taghairm, a species of soothsayer, who became qualified for his art under peculiar surroundings. Wrapped up in the skin of a newly slain bullock, and ensconsed beside a waterfall, or at the bottom of a precipice, or in some other strange and wild situation, where the scenery might suggest nothing but objects of horror, he there meditated on any question proposed, and whatever was impressed upon him by his environments passed as the inspiration of the spirits who haunted the locality.

CHAPTER XXI.

DEMONS AND APPARITIONS.

In popular phraseology the devil was "Nick" or "Old Nick," a term derived from *niken* or *necken*, a Danish word which signifies to destroy. To his special emissaries, the sorcerers, "Old Nick" was, as we have shown, supposed to appear in a variety of forms, generally in the likeness of the lower animals. He was believed to choose shapes conformable to his errands. Distracted by persecution, and with their imaginations excited by their untoward surroundings, the adherents of the Covenant were led to fancy that Satan pursued them in corporeal forms. Under the dim twilight he seemed to cross their path in the mountain correi, in the lonesome cavern, or in other solitary places. Alexander Peden, the prophet of the Covenant, was supposed to have personally encountered the devil in a cave. Between the devil and two Covenanters occurred a conflict in the Forest of Ettrick. On the Moffat Water, in a wild ravine, Halbert Dobson and David Dun, two proscribed Presbyterians, had constructed a hiding-place. Here the devil appeared to them in the aspect of a

marauder; but he was, on being assailed with their Bibles, compelled to flee, leaving behind him a bundle of hides. Hence the lines—

"Little ken'd the wirrikow[1]
What the Covenant would do;
What o' faith, and what o' pen,
What o' might and what o' men,
Or he had never shown his face,
His reekit rags an' riven taes,
To men o' meik an' men o' mense,
For Hab Dob and Davie Din
Dang the deil oure Dob's Linn.

"'Weir' quo he, an' 'weir' quo he,
'Haud the Bible til his e'e;
Ding him oure, or thrash him doun,
He's a fause, deceitfu' loon.'
Then he oure him, an' he oure him,
He oure him, an' he oure him;
Habby held him griff and grim,
Davie thrash him hip an' lim';
Till like a bunch o' basket skins
Doun fell Satan oure the Linns."

John Graham of Claverhouse was regarded as a personal ally of the Evil One, who had shown him the secret of becoming bullet-proof. But they had prepared a preternatural defiance to leaden shot only, which becoming known to one in the opposing army, he at the battle of Killiecrankie discharged from his firelock at the Jacobite leader a silver button. And thus he fell mortally wounded.

[1] Bugbear or scarecrow.

During the months of February, March, and April 1695, the house of Andrew Mackie, mason at Ringcroft, in the parish of Rerrick, and Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, was a scene of commotion. Into the house, by an invisible hand, were thrown stones and missiles of all sorts. Voices were heard uttering fierce adjurations. Missives were found scattered about inscribed with blood. Members of the household were beaten with invisible rods, and dragged about roughly. The neighbouring clergy assembled, and in a written narrative certified as to the strange proceedings. The cause remained undiscovered.[1]

Among the Wodrow MSS. there is the narrative of a female to whom, in 1701, the devil appeared in different shapes, including those of a hare, a hog, and a ram. More commonly he became manifest in a form presenting the head of a man with the four legs of a beast, or as "a long-wound corpse with a black face." By casting heavy weights upon the floor the demon shook the patient's bed; he also chased her from room to room, and when she refused to surrender her Bible he struck her upon the head. Men watched, but without detecting any imposture.

The devil employed spiritual agents who were described by ecclesiastics as "the light infantry of

[1] See "History of Witchcraft in Scotland," by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, London, 1884, pp. 229-254.

Satan." Of these the most conspicuous was "the genie." This imaginary being occupied the forests, and also frequented the air and rivers; it raised storms and allayed them, and interfered largely with human affairs. Persons who bore the name of Tweed were believed to have as an ancestor the genie of the river of that name. When, in a remote age, some pious individuals at Old Deer, in Aberdeenshire, began to erect a place of worship, they were surprised to find the work supernaturally impeded. At length the genie of the district was heard to exclaim :—

> "It is not here, it is not here
> That ye're to big the Kirk o' Deer,
> But on the tap o' Tillery,
> Where many a corpse shall after lie."

The church was accordingly built on a knoll or small mount, embraced by a bend of the Ugie. In the Macfarlane MSS. there is an account of a spirit named *Lham-dearg* which haunted the forest of Glenmore. Clad like an ancient warrior, he exhibited a bloody hand. To the combat he challenged all he met. Three brothers whom he compelled to fight with him died soon afterwards.

A supposed abettor of the Evil One, water-kelpie, is poetically described as "the angry spirit of the waters." He assumed the likeness of a small black horse, and in this shape practised mischief. Frequenting the banks of rivers, he allured strangers to

mount him, and then darted with them into the water, emitting an unearthly laugh. A place near Loch Vennachar is named *Coill-a-Chroin*,—that is, the wood of lamentation, — owing to the tradition that a water-kelpie, in the shape of a pony, having there induced a number of children to mount him, immediately darted with them into the lake. Water-kelpie was rendered useful to mankind when his head could be secured by a pair of branks. According to the legend, he was branked by the builder of the parish church of St Vigeans, near Arbroath, and so compelled to drag the large stones used in its construction. On being rescued from his restraint he evinced a terrible resentment, and predicted that a minister of St Vigeans would commit suicide, and that this event would be followed by the fabric of the church falling upon those who attended the first communion thereafter celebrated. At the beginning of the eighteenth century a minister of St Vigeans deprived himself of life, and the parishioners afterwards refused to join in the communion. After many years the incumbent insisted on celebrating the ordinance, but as he proceeded, the congregation retired from the building, a few only remaining.

From marine caverns "Shelly-coat" walked forth in gigantic proportions, clad in a coat of shells which he kept beneath a rock, and wore during his visits to mankind. He destroyed as he went, and

the rustling of his coat quelled the stoutest heart. In Shetland a marine supernatural, known as the Nuggle, was believed to haunt lochs and streams. In form resembling a Shetland pony, he had, instead of a tail, a sort of wheel appendage, which, carefully concealed from the observer, had the art of inducing passers-by to take a ride on him; when in the manner of water-kelpie, he cast them into the water. The Nuggle stopped mills, but in gratifying this mischievous propensity was checked when a burning branch was dropped into the shaft hole.

Apart from the brownie and the elf, there was a supernatural which had its home in hill centres and in the mountain cave. This was the "Urisk," otherwise the *Drew* or *Trew,* which, possessing a figure between a goat and a man, was ordinarily mischievous,[1] yet, like water-kelpie or the brownie, might be induced to yield some industrial help. In the "Lady of the Lake" Sir Walter Scott has celebrated the Urisk in connection with a copse-clad cavern or hollow, which rests romantically in the mountain of Benvenue, overhanging the southern bank of Loch Katrine. By the Ettrick Shepherd is

[1] In northern districts, when a cow was off her food, or if a calf did not take kindly to chewing the cud, the trew was supposed to have been exercising a baneful influence. Consequently "a wise woman" was sent for, who worked up a dough ball of oatmeal, and after placing it in a dog's mouth compelled the cow or calf to swallow it.

described a supernatural monster which frequented a mountain at Glen Aven. "Falm," writes the Shepherd, "appears to be no native of this world, but an occasional visitant, whose intentions are evil and dangerous. He is only seen about the break of day, and on the highest verge of the mountain. His head is twice as large as his body, and if any living creature cross the track over which he has passed before the sun shine upon it, certain death is the consequence."

In the Isle of Skye, "Gruagach," a sort of female Urisk, was supposed to linger about sheep-pens and dairies. She beat with a small wand anyone who refused to supply her daily with a portion of dairy produce. The milkmaids of the Isle of Trodda propitiated Gruagach by pouring milk daily into the small cavity of a stone.

To a female syren which lingered on the mountains of Perthshire belonged the threefold nature of the brownie, the fairy, and the witch. By her beauty, alluring travellers to follow her, she drew them to a sequestered spot and there proceeded to slaughter them. On the tradition of a hunter being destroyed by a Perthshire siren, Sir Walter Scott founded his ballad of "Glenfinlas."

Supernatural cattle were associated with the more secluded lochs. In Loch Awe, a water bull had his lair; another was associated with the depths of

Loch Rannoch. These could not be killed save with silver bullets. A water cow occupied St Mary's Loch in Yarrow. "A farmer in Bowerhope," writes the Ettrick Shepherd, "once got a breed of her, which he kept for many years until they multiplied exceedingly, and he never had any cattle throve so well, until once, on some outrage or disrespect on the farmer's part towards them, the old dam came out of the lake one pleasant March evening, and gave such a roar that all the surrounding hills shook again, upon which her progeny, nineteen in number, followed her all quietly into the loch, and were never more seen."

A notion, which still prevails in Persia, largely obtained in the Highlands. It was believed that a "wraith," or tutelary spirit attended every soul from birth to burial. Presenting the aspects, and wearing the attire of his human charge, the tutelary spirit accompanied and generally preceded him in all his movements. A protector in danger he, when death was approaching, conveyed to relatives intimation of its approach. In the discharge of the last duty the wraith became visible, appearing in his ward's likeness and wearing his ordinary apparel, or a snow-white vestment.

A tutelary spirit was occasionally found in the ghost of an ancestor. To a note which Sir Walter

Scott has appended to "The Antiquary," we are indebted for the substance of the following narrative:—

Mr R——d, of Bowland, a landowner in the Vale of Gala, was prosecuted for a large sum, the accumulated arrears of teinds (or tithes), for which he was said to be indebted to a noble family. Mr R——d was satisfied that his father had purchased exemption from the titular, but he was unable, either in his own repositories, or among the papers of those who had transacted business for his father, to discover any evidence of the transaction. He therefore deemed a defence useless, and had resolved to ride to Edinburgh next day to make the best terms in a compromise. He went to bed, deeply concerned about his expected loss. He slept, and in a dream conceived that his father, who had many years been dead, was talking with him. The paternal shade announced that he had actually purchased the teinds, and that the papers relating to the transaction were in the possession of a solicitor who had transacted business for him on that occasion only. He named the solicitor, who still lived. 'If he has forgotten the transaction,' he added, 'call it to his recollection by this token, that, when I came to pay his account, there was difficulty in getting change for a Portugal piece of gold, and that we were forced to drink out the balance at a tavern.' In the morning Mr R——d proceeded to the residence of the solicitor, whose name had occurred in the dream. He found a very aged gentleman, long retired from business. At first he could not recollect about the matter, but the mention of the Portugal piece of gold recalled it to his memory. He made an immediate search for the papers, and recovered them, so that Mr R——d carried to Edinburgh the documents necessary to gain the cause which he was on the verge of losing.

To the chiefs of ancient houses belonged spiritual guardians of a high order, which remained attached to those under the cloud of trial, and even when their lands were alienated. To the family of Shaw of

Rothiemurchus was attached a spiritual protector, known as "Bodach-an-Dun," or the ghost of the hill. When the Shaws were dispossessed of their family estate Bodach sung these lines of lamentation :—

"Ho ! ro, theidd sin sa chiomachas,
Theidd sinn a fhonn's odhige ;
'Sged thug iad uainn ar duchas,
Bidh ar duil ri cathair na firinn."[1]

According to the family legend, Bodach continues to guard the graves and protect the memorial-stones at Rothiemurchus of the old barons. When death was about to enter the family of the chief of Maclean the spirit of an ancestor rode round the family mansion three times, shaking the bridle of his horse.

In the north-western Highlands the peasantry believe that the "wraith" of the last person whose remains have been buried in a churchyard continues there to bear watch until on another interment he is relieved from his charge. On this subject Dr Alexander Stewart writes thus :—

"Sailing past the beautiful island of St Mungo, in Loch Leven, the burial-place for many centuries of the people of Nether Lochaber and Glencoe, the following conversation took place be-

[1] The free translation is—

"Ho ! Ro ! as exiles we go,
From our lands and strongholds, away, away ;
But we trust, though out-thrust
By an earthly foe,
To reach the City that lasts for aye,
The City of Peace—for aye, for aye."

tween an old man who managed the sails while we steered. It was in Gaelic, but the substance we present in English:—'You were at the funeral on the island the other day, sir?' observed our companion. 'That I was, John," we answered. 'The deceased,' naming him, 'was a very decent man.' 'He was a fine old Highlander,' he replied, 'and I believe he was pious.' 'Donald ——,' naming a person we both knew, 'is very ill, and not likely to long survive.' 'I saw him to-day,' we observed, and I fear you are right. He cannot exist very long.' 'Well, sir, it will be a good thing for John —— (the person recently buried); his term of watching will be short.' 'I do not understand your meaning,' we remarked, with some curiosity. 'The man is dead and buried; what watching should he have to do?' 'Why, sir, don't you know that the *spirit* of the last person buried in the island has to keep watch over the graves till the spirit of the next one buried takes his place?' 'I really did not know this,' we replied; 'and is the belief common? Do you personally believe it?' My companion answered, 'Well, sir, it is generally believed; and having always heard that it was so, I cannot well help believing it too. The spirit who watches is present day and night. Some people have seen them. My mother once pointed out to me, when I was a small boy, an appearance as of a flame of light on the island slowly moving about, and she assured me that it was the watching spirit going his rounds.' 'What particular object has the spirit in watching?' we asked. 'I don't exactly know,' was the answer, 'but he seems to take general charge of the dead until his successor arrives.'" [1]

With some leading events are apparitions associated. It is related both by Fordun and Boece that in the year 1285 a ghost, or an appearance which resembled a ghost, danced at a ball during the festivities which at Jedburgh attended the nuptial festivities of Alexander III. In his metrical life of Wallace

[1] "Nether Lochaber," by the Rev. A. Stewart, 1883, pp. 136-7.

Henry has represented his hero as having, soon after his slaughter of the traitor Fawdoun, witnessed his apparition, bearing "hys awne hede in hys hand." Prior to his expedition which resulted in the disaster of Flodden, James IV., as he worshipped in St Michael's Church, Linlithgow, at the hour of vespers, was accosted by a venerable figure with long hair, and clad in a blue robe bound by a linen girdle. The figure warned him to desist from his undertaking, under the penalty of being summoned into the eternal world. About the same period, at the hour of midnight, a spectral figure at the Market Cross of Edinburgh summoned a muster-roll of the Scottish army to shortly appear before his master. John Knox relates that James V., not long previous to his death, saw in vision the apparitions of two persons who in his service had gone into perdition.

Within the walls of Glammis Castle there is a haunted chamber, of which the entrance is unknown. And there, according to the legend, will, up to the day of doom, be performed fearful orgies. For Alexander Lindsay, fourth Earl of Crawford—"the Tiger Earl," who lived in the fifteenth century—having, when in the chamber, been advised to abandon a game at which he was always losing, he refused to do so, adding, with imprecations, that he would not give up till doomsday. At that instant the devil appeared, and the chamber and company evanished.

And in stormy nights, when the winds howl drearily around the castle, the doomed gamesters are supposed to be heard mingling their curses with the blast.

In popular superstition it was a common belief that the ghost of a murdered person continued to haunt the scene of slaughter, either until the assassin was discovered or the remains had received Christian burial. A daughter of the Baron of Cromlix, in Perthshire, having been betrothed to Sir Malise Graham, "the Black Knight of Kilbryde," permitted him to lead her to a sequestered spot of his forest, where he basely seduced and slew her. Concealing her remains, he retired to his castle. Her ghost thereafter haunted him, and after his death it continued to glide in the forest in a blood-stained robe, and to beckon all who noticed it to follow. For many years none were venturous enough to comply, but at length a chieftain of the family undertook, if the spectre should cross his path, to obey its wishes. His courage was put to trial, for one dark evening the spectre appeared to him in his garden. Moving forward, the knight followed. Descending to the bottom of the glen, it pointed to a particular spot. There the chief caused an excavation to be made, when were found the remains of the long-deceased Lady Anne, whose disappearance had heretofore been a mystery. When the remains were interred in a churchyard, the spectre ceased to appear.

On the 10th June 1754, Duncan Clerk and Alexander Bain Macdonald were tried in the Justiciary Court on the charge of murdering Sergeant Arthur Davies. The sergeant, who with a party of men was stationed in Braemar, disappeared on the 28th September 1749, while prosecuting solitary sport on the Hill of Christie, in Glencorrie. Long afterwards Alexander Macpherson, a native of the district, gave out that he had seen the ghost of the deceased, which had directed him to proceed to the Hill of Christie, there to discover and inter his bones. The ghost, he said, had appeared to him on two occasions, while on the second it had named Clerk and Macdonald as the murderers. Macpherson added that he had found the bones. Having elicited from Macpherson that the apparition talked to him in Gaelic, the prisoners' counsel remarked that "this was pretty well for the ghost of an English sergeant," a remark which so influenced the jury that they overlooked other evidence amounting to legal proof of the guilt of the prisoners libelled, and brought in a verdict of "not guilty."[1]

In the Hebrides and on the west coast future events were foreshadowed by spectral appearances. Such a belief has descended from the Ossianic age.

[1] Trial of Duncan Terig, *alias* Clerk, and Alexander Bain Macdonald for Murder. [Edited by Sir Walter Scott.] Edinburgh, 1831. 4to.

In the poem of "Conlath and Cuthona," it is said to Toscar in relation to "the ghost of the night," "It was thy father, O Toscar, and he foresees some death among his race." [1]

Those who had the faculty of witnessing spectral appearances which boded coming events were styled *Taibhsear* or vision-seers, their faculty being known as *Taisch* or the second sight. Unlike other pretenders to necromancy, these vision-seers refused to exercise their gifts for money. Nor of their skill did they speak boastfully. On the contrary, the *Taibhsear* referred to their faculty as an unfortunate possession, owing to the painful visions with which it was associated. The seventh child of the same sex born in succession was held to be endowed with the faculty.

During a vision the eyeballs of the seer were turned upward, and rendered so rigid that, when the vision closed, help was needed to restore them to ordinary use. And visions occurred without premonition. A morning vision implied an immediate fulfilment, and a vision at noon was realised before the close of the day. The later the hour of vision the more distant was the time of its accomplishment. Certain visions were not realised till after the lapse of

[1] By the ancient Caledonians it was held that a material existence continued after death, and that those departed from this life continued the invisible occupants of their former haunts.

years. The vision of a shroud was a prognostic of death, its height above the person whose death was foretold indicating the portion of time to ensue before the event. When the shroud rose to the middle, the death of the person seen would occur within a year; when the head was covered, death was near. Other signals may be remarked. When the seer observed a woman at a man's left hand, she was to become his wife; when two or three women stood at a man's right hand, these were to be his wives in succession. The seer could foresee the erection of houses and the planting of orchards in localities covered with huts and cowhouses. He foresaw the death of children by remarking a spark of fire falling into the bosom of those who were to be bereaved; while the vision of empty seats in a household intimated the removal of parents or adults. Visions of funeral trains were common. At their occurrence the aged seer became pensive, and the novice was covered with a thick sweat or fell into a swoon. When a seer was beholding his vision, he could enable another of the *Taibhsear*, on taking him by the hand, to witness similar phenomena.

Not infrequently the faculty of *Taisch* was exercised by the household bard, or family minstrel. By Professor Walker, in his "MS. Life of a Manse Household," is related the following:—

"Sir Archibald Kennedy, Bart., of Culzean (who died in

1710), retained in his household a bard who claimed the faculty of interpreting signs. As Sir Archibald's daughter, Susannah, was with some of her father's family walking in Culzean Park, a game hawk was observed circling overhead; and when she sportively threw up something by way of lure, it gently dropped and settled on her wrist. The seer, who was present, instantly exclaimed that the owner of the bird was destined to be Miss Susan's future husband. But the prophecy was scorned when the silver rings attached to the hawk's feet were examined, and found to bear the name of the Earl of Eglinton, his lordship being at that time married to his second wife. In the evening, however, an express arrived announcing the death of Lady Eglinton, and before the expiration of a twelvemonth the prediction of the seer was fulfilled. Susannah Kennedy became Countess of Eglinton in 1709."

In his "Schools and Schoolmasters" Hugh Miller relates, with a slight comment, a remarkable incident of his childhood. His father, who was a seaman at Cromarty, was in the exercise of his vocation sailing at some distance on the coast, but a letter had lately been received from him reporting his safety. It was the early winter of 1807, when Mr Miller had just completed his fifth year. The remainder of the narrative we present in his own words :—

"Day had not wholly disappeared, but it was fast posting on to night, and a grey haze spread a neutral tint of dimness over distant objects, but left the near ones comparatively distinct, when I saw at the open door, within less than a yard of my breast, as plainly as I ever saw anything, a dissevered hand and arm stretched towards me. Hand and arm were apparently those of a female; they bore a livid and sodden appearance, and directly fronting me, where the body ought to have been, there was only a blank transparent space, through which I could see the dim forms

of the objects beyond. I was fearfully startled, and ran shrieking to my mother, telling what I had seen; and the house-girl, whom she now sent to shut the door, apparently affected by my terror, also returned frightened, and said that she too had seen the woman's hand."

To this relation Mr Miller adds, that while the apparition may have been a momentary affection of the eye, its coincidence with the probable time of his father's death "seems at least curious."

The metrical chroniclers of Wallace and Bruce introduce the Highland seer in connection with their heroes. By an assassin of James I. was consulted one of the fraternity. A vision-seer is alleged to have foretold the unhappy career and violent death of Charles I. Sir George Mackenzie, afterwards Lord Tarbet, when sojourning in the Highlands, under a dread of Cromwell's government, employed a portion of his time in investigating the nature of the faculty. A narrative of its manifestations he communicated to the celebrated Robert Boyle, which, with the communications of others on the same subject, is included in the "Diary" of Samuel Pepys. The curious details of the *Taisch*, contained in John Frazer of Tyree's "Authentic Instances," appeared in 1707, and in 1716 those of Martin, in his "Description of the Western Islands." In 1763, Macleod of Hamir, under the signature of *Theophilus Insulanus*, published a treatise on the Second Sight, which included numerous illustrations of the gift, industriously

collected. In his "Journey to the Hebrides," Dr Samuel Johnson, in reference to the supposed faculty, refuses to reject the testimony by which it is supported. By an intelligent literary writer resident in the Highlands, we are informed that a belief in the second sight still lingers among the people of the west coast and also of the Hebrides. The vision-seer is poetically celebrated in the "Lady of the Lake," also in "Lochiel's Warning."

SUPPLEMENT.

Vol. i., p. 5, l. 8; pp. 22-24.—*Origin of Cairns.*

In a recent work descriptive of his personal explorations in Heth and Moab, Captain Conder remarks that while the menhir or long stone is the ancestor of the obelisk as a memorial stone, it was also an object of adoration as a personification of deity. In India, he remarks, the worship of the menhir is universal. As a sacred ceremony the natives of Hindostan, he adds, throw stones at the village lingam, which consequently becomes the nucleus of a memorial cairn. Of such practices traces are to be found in the Bible. Thus Solomon refers to stones being thrown upon a heap (Prov. xxvi. 8). At Mispah Jacob erected a menhir, and his followers made a heap around it (Gen. xxxi. 45, 46).—*Captain Conder's "Heth and Moab,"* pp. 203-9.

Vol. i., p. 9, l. 12.—*The Phœnicians in Wales.*

In a communication recently addressed to the editor of the *Western Antiquary*, Mr Robert Hunt, F.R.S., adduces what he styles "a few facts in support of the traditions that the Phœnicians were the merchant traders who carried the tin from Cornwall to mix with the copper of Cyprus, in the manufacture of the bronzes of antiquity." He proceeds—"That a foreign people actually worked some of the old deposits of tin is proved by the name of 'Attal Sarsen,' sometimes pronounced saracen, given to the waste heap of the old miners (sarsen signifies simply the stranger, and in this sense the name is applied to stones on Salisbury Plain, which are not native to that district). These waste heaps are often spoken of as 'Jews' leavings,' and the ancient furnaces found in the neighbourhood of the 'stream works,' always deeply

buried amidst overgrown beds of peat-moss, are called 'Jews' houses,' and the blocks of metallic tin of all shapes and sizes, found beside those smelting works, are called 'Jews' house tin.' It may be contended that these rude blast-furnaces are the remains of the smelting works erected by the Jews, about A.D. 1200, upon whom King John inflicted severe penalties, and who were banished by Edward I. My impression is that the exceedingly rude character of these smelting works, and of the blocks of tin found with them, indicates a far more primitive system of metallurgy than that which prevailed when kings granted charters to the tinners of Cornwall. At St Ives Consols Mine, a remarkably rich deposit of tin was extensively worked, and was known as the 'great carbona.' Similar, though smaller, deposits have been found in Providence Mine, and these were also called 'carbonas.' In the parishes of Breage and Sithney a miner will describe a rich lode as 'a beauty—a regular carbona.' . . . In St Matthew, chapter xxvii. verse 6, we read, 'And the chief priests took the silver pieces, and said, "It is not lawful to put them into the *treasury*, because it is the price of blood." In the original Greek the word for treasury is CORBONA or CORBANA. In the Latin Testament published at Rheims A.D. 1582, the verse reads 'Principes, autem sacerdotum, acceptis argentis dixerunt non licet eos mittere in CARBONUM.' The word has evidently been applied by the old miner to a place of wealth—a treasury. The word is not Greek, but Syro-Chaldaic or Aramaic, the language spoken by the Jews in the time of our Lord."

Vol. i., pp. 13, 14; pp. 20, 21.—*Dolmens or Ancient Altars.*

Captain Conder is clearly of opinion that the dolmen was a primitive altar. "The dolmen-building races," he writes, "most probably belonged to some Asiatic stock slowly spreading westwards into Europe—a course of migration which has been firmly established in the case of the Indo-European races through philological discovery." He adds, "In the dolmens and menhirs of Asia and Europe we probably find the remaining works of an ancient stock preceding both Aryan and Semitic races, and belong-

ing to the illiterate and consequently pre-historic ages." Jacob found a dolmen at Bethel, hence he describes the place as the gate of heaven (Gen. xxviii. 17). Saul used a great stone in the work of sacrificing (1 Sam. xiv. 33). And the practice of preparing a table for God is condemned by the prophet Isaiah (lxv. 11).

In Gilead and Moab, Captain Conder estimates there are more than a thousand dolmens. And this number, he holds, does not in any degree militate against the view as to their use as altars. In Moab on a single occasion Balak erected twenty-one altars (Numbers xx. 3), and the prophet Hosea found the sacred centres crowded with them as "heaps in the furrows of the field" (Hosea xii. 11). Monuments of a character similar to the dolmens are to be remarked in vast numbers in the north of Africa, where the Phœnicians established extensive colonies. One has been found in Lower and four in Upper Galilee. In every instance the dolmen is without ornamentation or other mark of the engraver. The ancient custom practised in Greece and Rome of not permitting a bride to tread on the threshold, but of lifting her over it, arose, it is believed, from the primitive rite of passing under the dolmens. —*Captain Conder's "Heth and Moab,"* pp. 197-275.

Vol. i., pp. 15-19.—*Worship at Springs.*

Many springs in Palestine are believed by the peasantry to be inhabited by good spirits. At the Oven of Job, near the Tâbghah springs, on the borders of the Sea of Galilee, Captain Conder found blue beads and shells strung on thread and hung on a stick between the joints of the masonry, having been there deposited as propitiatory offerings to the local deity. Captain Conder believes the practice of making offerings at springs and wells is a relic of the tree and stone worship, which preceded the planetary worship of the ancient Assyrians.—*Captain Conder's "Heth and Moab,"* p. 243.

Vol. i., p. 21, l. 26.—*Pitandreich.*

We have inadvertently fallen into error in rendering the place-name, "Pitandreich," as "the burial place of the Druids." Pit, or pet, or pettan, is the Celtic designation for a plot or portion of

ground, while "dreich" is the Celtic "fraoch," heather, the entire word signifying the place of heath. Pitandreich or Pittendreich is not an uncommon place-name.

Vol. i., pp. 35, 36.—*Primitive Symbolism.*

The symbolism of the double disc represents the present life and the future. By a circle the present mundane existence is obviously denoted, and as no conception of a future state was possible, save that which was derived from the present, a double circle became the symbol of eternity. As a spear represented action, or the mode of preserving life, so a broken spear interjected between two discs, denoted that life temporal had closed and a spiritual existence begun. On the primitive memorial stone the crescent indicated that the person commemorated was a woman. The conventional beast of the early symbolism represents substance, or stock in the forest.

Page 51, l. 12.—*For* "Leger de Quinci," *read* "Seger de Quinci."

Page 57, l. 7.—*For* "John of Liege," *read* "Jacques de Liege."

Page 58, l. 10.—*Household Furniture in the Sixteenth Century.*

The best furnished chamber in St Leonard's College, occupied by George Buchanan as Principal, contained the articles described in the following inventory:—"Two standard beds, the foreside of aik and the north side and the fuits of fir; ane feather bed and ane white plaide of four ells, and ane covering woven o'er with images; another auld bed of harden, filled with straws, with ane covering of green; ane cod; an inrower of buckram of five breds, part green, part red to yaillow; ane flanders counter of the middling kind; ane little buird for the studie; ane furm of fir, and ane little letterin of aik on the side of the bed, with an image of St Jerome; ane stool of elm, with ane other chandler weighing . . ." In the year 1599, the furniture of St Leonard's College is thus inventoried:—"In the hall four fixed boards. The hale beds almaist fixt. In every chamber ane board and ane furme

pertainand thereto wi glassen windows, and the maist part of all the chambers ciellered above, and the floors beneath laid with buirdis."

Vol. i., p. 105, l. 13.—*Marriage of the Clergy.*

On Sunday, the 18th October 1500, Hugh Wallace, brother of the laird of Craigie, and perpetual parish clerk of the church of Symington, proceeded in presence of the congregation to resign his office into the hands of the curate, who thereupon, by the hands of a procurator, invested in the same William Wallace, described as "the well-born son," *filius liberalis*, of the said Hugh. Thereupon Dame Margaret Rutherford, the mother of William, took instruments on behalf of her "well-born son" as to the validity of the transaction.—*Liber Protocollorum*, Glasgow, vol. i., 8; vol. ii., 270-276.

Vol. i., p. 109, l. 17.—*Forbidding the Banns.*

The privilege of objecting to the celebration of a marriage, implied in the act of publishing the banns in the parish church, has been occasionally exercised. One curious instance is recorded in the parish register of St Madoes, Perthshire, under the 2d June 1594. In this case the objector urges that "the man was an idiot, and nocht of wit and judgment to govern himself," and that the woman was "ane proud young bangster hizzie wha had goglit him in his simplicitie."

Vol. i., pp. 113-117.—*Marriage Feasts in the Northern Counties.*

"Weddings or marriage feasts were highly in vogue, and there was in every case a double feast, one at the bride's father's or friend's house, where the ceremony was performed. At this feast the bride and bridegroom sat as the principal guests, remaining for one or more days. The next feast was at the bridegroom's house on the arrival of the happy pair at their own home. This was called 'a bhanais theth'—'the heating of the house'—or, as the men of Sutherland literally rendered the phrase from their native tongue into English, 'the wedding hot.'"—*Memorabilia Domestica*, 1694-1830, MS., vol. i., p. 255.

Vol. i., p. 120, l. 1.—*Sunday Marriages.*

At Ayr, prior to the year 1627, marriages were solemnized on any day of the week, Fast-days excepted; but in that year the minister, Mr William Annand, made intimation 'that nane should desyre him to marrie thame vpone onye Sabbothe daye herefter becaus of the great prophanitie that followes." By the Kirksession of Ayr, in 1684, was passed the following resolution :—"The session, taking to their consideratione the great abuse committed at mariages be multitudes conveining, do therefor enact that hereafter none shall be maryed except on Thursday immediatly after sermon, except in caise of necessitie, and that the persons to be maried enter the church before sermon vtherwayes not to be maried that day." The Presbytery records show that forty years prior to the date of this enactment Thursday was the ordinary day for marriages at Prestwick and the adjacent parishes.

Vol. i., p. 127, l. 25.—*English Marriages.*

On the 6th October 1776, John Kerse, cooper in Coldstream, and Mary Young, in the parish of Greenlaw, appeared before the Kirksession and produced a certificate from the curate of the parish church of Tweedmouth, setting forth that he had, on the 17th of August, united them in lawful wedlock. But the Kirksession held that "neither of the parties had been lawfully married in their parish church," and therefore decreed that "they be proclaimed three times in order to marriage; and if any objections against the marriage appeared, the Session will proceed against them accordingly."

Vol. i., p. 127, l. 27.—*Scotsmen debarred from Marrying English Women.*

By the eleventh Parliament of James VI. it was enacted "that no Scotsman marrie an Englishwoman without the King's license under the Great Seal, under pain of death and escheat of moveables."

Vol. i., p. 139, l. 14.—*Foundling.*

In 1742 a male child was found in the malt kiln of Gateside brewery, in the parish of Dollar. To the infant's dress, which was of a superior texture, was attached a large sum of money. By the proprietor of Gateside the child was carefully tended, and on the 30th June 1742 it was baptized by the name of Dollar, being that of the parish; the Christian name of John was afterwards added. John Dollar settled in England, and attained affluence. On Sunday, the 24th April 1796, a female child was found at Linlithgow, apparently two or three weeks old. She was maintained by the parish, and baptized as "Robina Linlithgow." In the parish of St Martins, Perthshire, on 15th February 1818, was, by the name of Wilhelmina St Martins, baptized a female child, which, on the night of the 16th March 1817, was found at the door of William Sharp in Craignaherson.—*Gibson's Reminiscences of Dollar*, Edin. 1883, 2d edit., p. 236; *Parish Registers of Linlithgow and St Martins.*

Vol. i., p. 141.—*Spelling of Family Names.*

Up to the commencement of the nineteenth century, each session-clerk and registrar spelt family names according to the mode in which they were ordinarily expressed. Specimens of various spellings are subjoined. Alison appears in the forms of Alysone, Alanson, Alaneson, Alanesoun, and Alansoun; also of MacAllan, M'Allone, and Makallane. Alexander appears as Alysander, Alexinder, Alexunder, Alsynder, and Saunders. The surname of Anderson has the forms of Andersoun, Androsoun, and Androusen. Bain is written Bane, Bayn, and Bayne; Barclay is expressed as Bercklai, Bercly, and Berkla; and Blair is Blar, Blare, and Blayre. In the Registers of Linlithgowshire, Boag is written Bog, Boog, Bogg, Boig, and Boak. In the Kincardineshire Registers the predecessors of Robert Burns are registered as Burnes, Burness, Burnase, and Burnace. The prevailing name of Brown is recorded as Browun, Brun, Brune, and Brwne. Doig is written Dog and Dogg; Hill appears Hil, Hyl, and Hyll; and Murray is found as Myrie and Murrie. Rae is Ra, Raa, and Ray; Roger is written

Rogear, Rogeare, Rodger, Rodgers, also Hodges; while Taylor is found as Tailyour, Talyeour, Talyor, also in other forms.

Vol. i., p. 143, l. 10.—*The Registry Office.*

The Registers of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, from 1820 to 1854, have lately been deposited in the General Register House.

Vol. i., p. 143, l. 19.—*Registering in Latin.*

From the 26th March 1728 to the 10th September 1733, the entries in the Baptismal Register of Aberdour, Fifeshire, are in the Latin tongue.

Vol. i., p. 154, l. 5.—*The Lykwaik.*

For "latewake" *read* "lykewaik." The latter term is derived from two Anglo-Saxon words, *lic*, a body, and *wac-ian*, to watch.

Vol. i., p. 163, l. 8.—*Funeral Handbells.*

In the manse of Mauchline is preserved a handbell, which was formerly rung at funeral processions, to indicate a change of bearers.

Vol. i., p. 163, l. 9.—*Bell-Ringing at Funerals.*

On the 26th May 1783, the Kirksession of Terregles, Kirkcudbrightshire, ordained that "the kirk bell shall not be rung at any burial under one shilling sterling, as the lowest, and the better sort to pay two shillings and sixpence sterling—sixpence of which being allotted to the kirk-officer as his dues, and the remainder to the poor."

Vol. i., p. 164, l. 18.—*The Mortcloth.*

The Kirksession of Logie, Stirlingshire, on the 11th May 1690, purchased "a large and fine mortcloth," of which the items of cost are defined :—

Item, 9 ells of finest black velvet, at £12, 10s. per ell,	£112	10	0
Item, 3 lb. 5½ ounces of great and small silk fringe, at 25s. 4d. per ounce, . . .	50	16	6
Item, 7 ells blink, ell broad, for lining, . .	6	0	0
Other items, including making and trimming, .	7	18	0
	£177	4	6

Vol. i., p. 165, l. 18.—*For* "Ancistoun" *read* "Anniston."

Vol. i., p. 172, l. 20.—*For* "Kippo" *read* "Kipps."

Vol. i., pp. 182-185.—*Charter Stones.*

In a note appended to "The Lord of the Isles" (3 D), Sir Walter Scott supplies some curious particulars on the subject of "charter-stones." They were probably used, he thinks, as symbols to denote the right of possessing land prior to the general use of written documents. Sir Walter mentions a basaltic block in the shape of a sheep's kidney, which formerly stood at King's Case, near Prestwick, in Ayrshire, in evidence of the endowment there made on behalf of lepers by King Robert the Bruce. The surface of the stone being intensely smooth, there was no other mode of lifting it than by turning the hollow, and then extending the arms along the sides of the stone, and clasping the hands in the cavity. The stone lay near the leper's well at King's Case till a modern period, when some English dragoons wantonly broke it. The fragments have been deposited in a place of security by the freemen of Prestwick. Sir Walter refers to another charter-stone of blue or trap rock, which stands at Old Dailly in Carrick, and an attempt to remove which to the village of New Dailly led to a popular conflict. At Girvan, proceeds Sir Walter, if a man can set his back against a charter-stone in that place, he was supposed not liable to arrestment for debt, nor could cattle be poinded if made fast to the stone. There is a charter-stone at Inverness, set in an iron frame, at the market-place. While the famous coronation stone remained at Scone, it was regarded as the charter-stone of Scotland.

Vol. i., p. 189, l. 24.—*Seals and Badges.*

The use of seals is coeval with the art of writing. Seals were originally inscribed round the edge with the owner's name, while a star, or flower, or a small circle was carved in the centre. Next were used badges, emblematic of family names, such as a raven borne by the family of Corbet, or three fishes by the family of

Herring. Heraldic shields may be traced to the reign of William the Lion.

Vol. i., p. 212, l. 5.—*The Swing Plough.*

The inventor, James Small, was reduced to great extremities and might have perished from actual want but for the active beneficence of Sir John Sinclair, Bart.

Vol. i., p. 213, l. 6.—*The Thrashing Machine.*

Ascertaining that Andrew Meikle was in poverty, Sir John Sinclair raised for him by subscription the sum of £1500, which was invested so as to place the aged mechanic in circumstances of comfort. Meikle died in 1811, and his remains were interred in the parish churchyard of Prestonkirk, Haddingtonshire. At his grave has been raised a handsome tombstone, with the following legend :—"Beneath this stone are deposited the mortal remains of the late Andrew Meikle, civil engineer at Houston Mill, who died in the year 1811, aged 92 years. Descended from a race of ingenious mechanics, to whom the country for ages had been greatly indebted, he steadily followed the example of his ancestors, and by inventing and bringing to perfection a machine for separating corn from the straw (constructed upon the principles of velocity, and furnished with fixed beaters or skutchers), rendered to the agriculturists of Great Britain, and of other nations, a more beneficial service than any hitherto recorded in the annals of ancient or modern science."

Vol. i., p. 216, l. 6.—*Corn Mills.*

In a note to "The Pirate," Sir Walter Scott writes thus :—"There is certainly something very extraordinary to a stranger in Zetland corn mills. They are of the smallest possible size; the wheel which drives them is horizontal, and the cogs are turned diagonally to the water. The beam itself stands upright, and is inserted in a stone quern of the old-fashioned construction, which it turns round and thus performs its duty. . . . These mills are thatched over in a little hovel, which has much the air of a pig-

sty. There may be five hundred such mills on one island, not capable any one of them of grinding above a sackful of corn at a time."

Vol. i., p. 222, l. 8.—*Cost of a Journey.*

Lieutenant-Colonel Ninian Imrie, in a MS. journal now in our possession, presents the following statement as to the cost of a journey from Edinburgh to London, which, by means of a hired chaise, he accomplished in 1802. His narrative proceeds—"In the zig-zag way that I travelled my number of miles was 612.

Chaise hire, horses, &c.,	£34	6	3
Postilions and hostlers,	5	19	6
Turnpikes,	2	5	4
Cleaning and greasing my carriage,	0	15	0
Cleaning boots, washing, &c.,	0	15	3
	£44	1	4
Eating bills, &c.,	16	19	0
	£61	0	4
612 miles at 2s. per mile, 1224s.	£62	0	0
Money expended,	61	0	0
	£1	0	0

So that the whole of this journey comes to one pound less than two shillings per mile, all expenses for myself and servant included."

Vol. i., p. 223, l. 3.—*Stage Coaches.*

"In 1811 a *diligence* and pair actually ran for a short time between Aberdeen and Inverness, but this adventurous vehicle had but a short existence. . . . The roads between Aberdeen, Elgin, Nairn, and Inverness were in a miserable state, and as for roads beyond Inverness there simply were none. When in 1833 Lord Stafford, Duke of Sutherland, died, there were 450 miles of capital roads in Sutherland, where previous to 1812 none existed at all; and 134 bridges spanned the rivers of the same county,

where previous to 1812 there had been but one."—*Lord Ronald Gower's Reminiscences*, 1883, 8vo, vol. i., p. 84.

Vol. i., p. 208, l. 6.—*Rent of Land.*

On the 29th October 1669, George Graham, younger of Inchbrakie, in the county of Perth, leased to Alexander Alexander the home farm of Inchbrakie, for the term of three years, for the annual payment as rent of "the third sheaff off all the cornes, bear, aites, or pease that shall grow upon the croftes, carse, tath, and awald off the said toune and lands off Inchbrakie, and the fourth sheaff of all that shall be growne upon the third furre and fourth furre of the said landes." It was further stipulated that the tenant was to possess the entire straw.—*General Register of Deeds, Durie Office.*

Vol. i., p. 232, l. 9.—*Farm-houses.*

Dr James Russell of Yarrow, in his "Reminiscences" (pp. 75-6), describes the farm-houses of Yarrow in the end of the last century as small, low-roofed, and covered with thatch. They were built on a uniform model—a room in one end, and a kitchen in the other. The kitchen opened into a third apartment, commonly used as a bedroom, while in certain houses were two attics, reached by a trap-ladder. The old farm-house at Foulshiels, in which Mungo Park was born, remarks Dr Russell, was one of this description.

Vol. i., p. 234, l, 16.—*Camp-kettle.*

A common error has been inadvertently fallen into. The camp-kettle described as Roman is certainly modern.

Vol. i., p. 236, l. 24.—*Contracts as to Eating Salmon.*

An obliging correspondent has satisfied us that there is no evidence of the existence of any written contracts as to a restricted use of salmon. Our information as to an arrangement made in Strathmore was derived from Mr James Roger, minister of Dunino, in Fife, who was, in 1767, born at Bendochy, near the confluence of the salmon-fishing rivers of Isla and Ericht. Mr

Roger referred to the stipulation as connected with a period considerably antecedent to his own.

Vol. i., p. 250, l. 17.—*Rural Cottages.*

Referring to the dwellings of the peasantry in Yarrow at the close of the eighteenth century, Dr James Russell describes them as smoky hovels, "the walls alternate rows of stones and sods, the floor of earth, and the roof of coarse timber covered with turf and rushes. The only chimney," he adds, "was a hole in the middle or end of the roof, surrounded at the top by a wicker frame, widening as it came down, plastered with a mixture of straw and mud, and supported by a strong beam. The only window, or apology for a window, was a small aperture with a single pane of glass, and sometimes altogether open, and stuffed at night with old clothes."—*Dr Russell's Reminiscences of Yarrow.*

Vol. i., pp. 250-251.—*The Black Houses.*

A report on the condition of the dwellings of agricultural labourers in Scotland, presented to Parliament in 1875, contains a detailed account of the different kinds of houses found in the Highlands. Among these are named "the black houses," in which there exists but one entrance for the cattle and the human inhabitants, while in the interior are allowed to accumulate the dung of cattle and other unwholesome substances. As a commentary on this, the Commissioners observe that it does not appear that the people suffer, except in cases of occasional outbreaks of fever!

Vol. i., p. 259, l. 1.—*Drink Money.*

During the seventeenth century and subsequently, "drink money" was allowed to craftsmen, to the extent of about one-eighth of the stipulated remuneration. In 1674 the Kirksession of Mauchline gave sixteen shillings Scots for ale to Agnes Hunter, a female pauper, who was dying.

Vol. i., p. 262, l. 21.—*Church Door Collections.*

During the long period that the parochial poor were sustained by the Sunday offerings of the people, there were devised un-

worthy means of eluding the obligation. The coins deposited in the collecting plates were not infrequently of base metal. At their annual reckoning in 1703 the Kirksession of Alva examined the copper in the treasurer's box, when there were found "twenty-seven pounds and nine shillings of insufficient money." By the Session, the base money was sold to a chapman at fivepence per pound, the whole in Dutch weight amounting to fourteen pounds, or 5s. 10d. money. At Alva the reception of base money in the collecting plates was remarked from year to year.

Vol. i., p. 267, l. 24.—*Gipsies.*

From India the gipsies proceeded westward to Beloochistan in the 4th century. In the 6th century they occupied the Chaldean marshes; thence they moved to the Cilician gates, and continued to inhabit Northern Syria, till the Greek emperors moved them to Iconium. In the 13th century they had reached the Bosphorus, and they were first heard of in Europe in the 14th century. When in 1428 they reached Moldavia they numbered 130,000, and were badly treated and sold. Hindustani words have been discovered among them.—*Roberts' "Social History of the Southern Counties of England,"* Lond. 1856, 8vo, p. 257.

Vol. i., p. 277, l. 15.—*Licensed Beggars.*

On the 19th June 1741 the Kirksession of Dunning granted to William Whittock, smith, the sum of "six shillings to buy some lead for making badges, to be given to some poor children, who at a late conjunct meeting of the heritors and session were allowed to beg." When the urgency which led to the granting of the badge had ceased, begging was prohibited. Hence on the 11th September of the same year the Kirksession of Dunning called on the poor persons, to whom they had given badges, to deliver them up. As "plenty and cheapness" had returned, they were enjoined "not to go through the paroch as formerly, but to procure their bread by serving others."—*Dunning Kirksession Register.*

Vol. i., p. 277, l. 16.—*Ordinary Beggars.*

"Ballochneil [parish of Kirkoswald, Ayrshire] being near

the public road," writes an octogenarian correspondent, "beggars were often with us. My mother kept a bed of blankets for their use, and we had often to carry cripples, and lead the blind in their progresses from house to house." A friend in the city of Edinburgh remembers that in his youth lame persons, in eastern Fifeshire, who subsisted by begging, were borne from one farm-house to another on the backs of hinds.

Vol. i., p. 284, l. 18.—*Origin of Towns.*

At a later stage, when a baron got from the king a grant of land on which he settled with his followers, he proceeded to build a church, a mill, and a brewhouse, and thereby founded a hamlet, which became his *dun*, or town.

Vol. i., p. 286, l. 15.—*Claim of Stirling as the Second Burgh.*

The earliest existing charter of the burgh of Stirling is granted by Alexander II., and is dated at "Kyncardin," 18th August 1226. In the Records of the Convention of Burghs, under February 1579, is the following entry:—"The samyn day Robert Alexander, commissioner for Striveling, protested that quhatsumever thing beis done or decernit betuix the burrowis of Dondie and Perth tuiching the second place of burrowis clamit be ather of thame, preiugit nocht Striveling and the privilege it hes to the second place of burrowis, and thairupon askit instrumentis."

Vol. i., p. 290, l. 14.—*Scottish Shipping.*

Those who incline to marvel at the smallness of Scottish shipping, are called on to remember that the entire English navy at the time of the Spanish Armada in 1588 consisted of twenty-three ships only, varying in burden from 50 to 1000 tons, and the largest carrying not more than forty guns.

Vol. i., p. 291, l. 4.—*Burghal Custom.*

Officers called "custumars" were appointed by the Crown in each burgh of export, these being chosen from among the leading burgesses. By the "custumars" were collected "the great custom"

due to the sovereign; and mercantile goods could not be legally exported without a cocket, that is, a certificate or parchment writ, issued by the "custumar" or from his department, bearing that the great custom had been paid.

Vol. i., p. 294, l. 15.—*Tasters and Measurers.*

By the Town Council of Aberdeen were employed *gustatores vini*, or tasters of wine. In 1488 the Town Council of Dunfermline elected *gustatores cervisiæ*, or tasters of ale, and *appreciatores carnium*, or flesh pricers; also *liniatores*, or measurers of burgh tenements—"lyning stakes" being placed at regular distances along the march line.

"Vol. i., p. 297, l. 9.—"*The Frieirs of Berwick.*"

In ascribing this poem to William Dunbar, we have inadvertently adopted the conjecture of Pinkerton, which is without any historical support. The poem is anonymous. As the writer describes the religious houses as actually existing, the poem must have been written some time prior to the year 1539, when by order of Henry VIII. the greater monasteries were suppressed.

Vol. i., p. 300. l. 3.—*House Bells.*

In the year 1760 hung-bells, even in superior dwellings, were almost unknown. In castellated structures, there was a mode of communicating with the household servants by means of tubulated apertures in the walls. In ordinary mansions the servants were summoned by means of a handbell which usually lay on the table, or on a niche specially prepared for its reception. In ordinary houses domestic servants were summoned by the floor being forcibly struck with the poker or by the shoe-heel.

Vol. i., p. 302, l. 14.—*Street Lamps.*

In the early winter of 1554-55 the streets of Edinburgh were lighted up with lamps for the first time. On tho 16th of November 1554, the Edinburgh Town Council "statut and ordanit for eschewing of evill doingis of lymmaris, wagaboundis, and vtheris

that passis within the burgh on the nycht, steillis and revis within the samyn, that thair be nychtlie fra this day furth quhill the xxiiij day of Februar nixttocum, lanternis and bowettis sett furth at v houris at evin, and remane quhill ix houris." The common name for a bowet or hand-lantern was "a cut-throat."

Vol. i., p. 303, l. 15.—*Insalubrity of Old Edinburgh.*

The degraded condition of the Scottish capital about the year 1500 is poetically stigmatized by William Dunbar in his "Address to the Merchants of Edinburgh." The more pungent stanzas follow:—

Why will ye, merchants of renoun,
Let Edinburgh, your noble town,
For lack of reformatioun,
The common profit tyne and fame?
Think ye not shame
That ony other regioun
Sall with dishonour hurt your name?

May nane pas through your principal gaits,
For stink of haddocks and of skates;
For cries of carlings and debates;
For fensum flytings of defame:
Think ye not shame,
Before strangers of all estates,
That sic dishonour hurt your name?

Your stinking style that standis dirk,
Halds the licht fra your parish kirk;
Your forestairs maks your houses mirk,
Like na country but here at hame:
Think ye not shame,
Sae little policy to wirk
In hurt and slander of your name?

. . . . . .

Your burgh of beggars is ane nest;
To shout thai swenyours will not rest;
All honest folk they do molest,
Sae piteously they cry and rame:
Think ye not shame,
That for the poor has no thing drest,
In hurt and slander of your name?

Your profit daily does increas
Your godlie workis less and less;
Through streettis nane may mak progress,
For cry of cruikit, blind, and lame:
Think ye not shame,
That ye sic substance do possess,
And will not win ane better name?

. . . . . .

Singular profit so does you blind,
The common profit goes behind:
I pray that Lord remeid to find
That deit in to Jerusalem;
And gar you shame,
That some reason may you bind,
For to reconquest your guid name!

Vol. i., p. 306, p. 26.—*Burgh Nuisances.*

From the "Edinburgh Burgh Court Papers" we glean the following:—On the 26th December 1722, the Incorporation of Fleshers applied to the magistrates for the removal of several nuisances. They represented that the Old Provost's Close being "the main avenue from the city to the mercat," was on both sides "lined with a most nauseous piece of tapistrie of puddings, tripes, livers, painshes, sheepheads, and draughts, and when there is no room for such hangings, there were put out boards and tubs on both sides of the close, leaving it so stranded that one cannot pass by another, without touching these nausances and spoiling their cloaths." The Incorporation added that "swine were commonly

both keept and kill'd there." They further set forth that the tacksmen of the burgh "laid down fuilzie upon the avenues leading to the mercat," and "such fuilzie they removed but once in the year, while last year they took none away." In reference to "the swine keept at the North-Loch side," the memorialists remarked that these "by their continual working with their noses undermined the roads to the mercat, thereby endangering their servants in carrying their wares to the mercat." The petition being submitted to the Town Council, was by them remitted to the Works' Committee. On their report and recommendation, the nuisances were condemned, and those concerned in producing them ordered to desist from their practices under a penalty of £10 Scots, *toties quoties*.

Nearly a century later, viz., on the 10th July 1810, several persons were summoned before Mr John Tait, Judge of the Police Court, charged with "keeping swine in front of Dublin Street."

Vol. i., p. 322, l. 14; 338, l. 14.—*Stallanger Rolls.*

In some of the principal towns there existed a subordinate roll, known as "the Stallanger Roll." Those entered in it were entitled to keep a stall on the street on market days, but were not admitted to burghal privileges of any other sort. This subordinate roll was, at Dunfermline in the year 1488, known as "the Stallanger Row."

Vol. i., p. 320, l. 6.—*John Watson's Institution.*

Our succinct account of this institution may be slightly supplemented. By a testamentary settlement executed on the 2nd July 1759, John Watson, Writer to the Signet, conveyed his property, under certain exceptions, to trustees, with instructions to apply the same "to such pious and charitable uses within the city" as they might determine. Accordingly, by a deed of destination dated 13th August 1764, the trustees proposed to apply the income "for the pious and charitable purpose of preventing child murder." They further devolved the management of the charity, after their own deaths, upon the Society of Writers to the Signet. Happily the trustees had not carried out

their strangely unwise resolution of endowing a foundling hospital —such being the mode in which they proposed to "prevent child murder,"—and hence when they were severally gathered to their fathers, the new administrators, consisting of the Society of Writers to the Signet, adopted a scheme in strict consonance with the intentions of the donor. Having, in 1822, acquired by an Act of Parliament the necessary powers, they proceeded to establish an hospital for the maintenance and education of destitute children, also for assisting them, or such of them, at the outset of life as might specially deserve such aid. In 1825 a suitable structure was erected, and since its completion in 1828 there have in the institution been supported and educated about one hundred fatherless children of both sexes. The original fund was under £5000, but consequent on careful administration, the capital in August 1872 was found to amount to £109,000, exclusive of buildings.

Vol. i., p. 337, l. 27.—*Municipal Pipers.*

In each of the rural burghs, also in populous places, was employed a piper, whose duty was daily to arouse the inhabitants, also to play on festive occasions. The last public piper at Alva, Stirlingshire, died in 1779, and his funeral expenses were discharged at the cost of the parish.—*Alva Kirksession Register.*

Vol. i., p. 339, l. 1.—*The Chapmen of Striling.*

To the "Fraternity of Chapmen of Stirling and Clackmannan" James I. granted the privilege of practising certain chivalrous sports. After a period of abeyance, the fraternity was revived at a meeting held at Stirling on the 24th of October 1726. At this meeting was enacted "a code of laws," which was submitted to and approved by the Magistrates of the Burgh, also by the Justices of the Peace of the counties of Stirling and Clackmannan. The laws, thirty-eight in number, proceed thus:—

"1st. Whosoever shall be found guilty of breaking the Sabbath-day shall pay the sum of five pounds Scots.

"2d. Whosoever shall be found carrying and useing wrong

weights or ell-wands, shall pay five pounds Scots; and the wrong weights and ell-wands shall be broken.

"3d. Whosoever shall be found guilty of wronging his neighbour by inviting buyers from his neighbour's stand, shall pay six pounds Scots.

"4th. Whosoever shall pass an ill report upon his neighbour, shall be amerced in four pounds Scots.

"5th. Whosoever shall be found guilty of profaneing the name of God by talking idle and profane words, shall pay the sum of four pounds Scots.

"6th. Whosoever shall be found guilty of lyeing and theevish practices, shall be extruded the Court, and his goods confiscated.

"7th. Whosoever shall prejudge any person by fraudulent dealing or evil speaking, in any place where he shall happen to travel or lodge, shall be fined in five pounds Scots.

"8th. Whosoever shall be found drunk shall be liable in the fine of five groats.

"9th. Whosoever shall be found guilty of gameing at cards or dice, or any other vitious game, shall pay four pounds Scots.

"10th. Whosoever shall be found guilty of buying or passing of counterfeit coyn of any sort, shall pay three pounds Scots for the first fault; and if found to continue in the practice thereof, shall be excluded the Court.

"11th. Whosoever shall deny a comrade brother chapman his wholesome advice and best counsel, either in buying or selling, shall pay three pounds Scots.

"12th. Any stranger that it is to be brothered with this Incorporation, shall come in the will of the Court to the value of five pounds sterling.

"13th. No less money can be taken for admitting of any stranger to this Incorporation's freedom than ten shillings and ninepence sterling, except the Court designs to bestow it gratis.

"14th. Whosoever shall be found guilty of eating or abuseing people's corns, when travelling on the road, shall pay the sum of three pounds Scots.

"15th. Whosoever shall neglect to give due obedience and

respect to their superiours, and who shall not be found clean and neat in their cloaths and linnens, shall be fined five groats.

"16th. Whosoever shall be found eating any kind of victuals in the market place, or carrying or keeping anything in their bonnets that is not decent and becoming, shall pay twelve shillings Scots.

"17th. No stands be marked until sunrise, the day commonly called the Fair Even; and in marking the said stands, none shall be allowed more room than a deal length of nine foot for two comrads; and whosoever marks first shall, besides marking for himself, mark out one stand in the best place of the market for my Lord's use, and in case that be neglected, my Lord is to have his choice of all the stands in the market, and who shall transgress the above rules shall pay fourtie shilling Scots.

"18th. The bailie hath power to call any other brother out of any stand where there are two together, and that either to keep his stand while he is drawing the pawns, or go along with him, in order to the drawing of them; and who refuseth so to do shall pay thirtie shilling Scots, and the least pawn that is to be drawn from a brothered chapman is to be thirtie shilling Scots, or the value thereof in goods; and the least to be taken from a stranger is to be three pounds Scots, or the value thereof; and those who refuse to give in such pawns as was then exprest, are to pay, as a fine, the sowm of thirtie shilling Scots.

"19th. Whosoever is absent, after being warned, when the court is fenced, shall pay six pence for being absent; and whosoever shall not bring with him his weights and ell-wands, in order to be adjusted, shall be liable to the censure of the court.

"20th. Whosoever shall be disobedient to these laws, and refuseth to submit himself to a lawful fenced court, shall, without remede, be banished therefrom; and who shall be found keeping company with any such persons, shall pay three pounds Scots.

"21st. Whosoever shall borrow any thing at markets, such as timber and cloaths for their stands, and will not restore the same, and if complained upon, shall make satisfaction to the complainer; and if found a transgressor, shall, by and attour pay fourtie shilling Scots.

"22d. Whosoever shall interrupt his neighbour speaking, in a fenced court, shall pay six shillings Scots.

"23d. Whosoever shall reveal any of the secrets of the court, or shall reveal anything to the prejudice of his neighbour, shall pay six pounds Scots.

"24th. Whosoever shall know or see any thing prejudicial to the interest of the court, or any member thereof, and not discover the same, shall pay the sum of three pounds Scots.

"25th. Whosoever shall give provocation to any brother, or other person, shall pay thirtie shillings Scots.

"26th. Whatsoever magistrate shall presume to keep court, or fine any brother, or enter any person, except at fairs within the shire, or if need require, in Stirling, on the weekly market day, shall pay four pounds Scots.

"27th. Whosoever shall refuse to carry charge in any of the offices of the court, after they shall be elected, shall pay six pounds Scots.

"28th. No person shall be admitted a brother, without a sufficient testimony of his good carriage and behaviour.

"29th. Every brother shall have a Bible for his own use, and present the same at courts, when called for, under the pain of six pounds Scots: And those who cannot read shall endeavour to learn, under the said penalty.

"30th. Whatsoever magistrates shall be found guilty of breaking any of the laws, shall forefault the double penalty of what they shall transgress.

"31st. Whatsoever difference shall happen betwixt brothers, that they shall apply to the proper judges of this Incorporation, and not to any other judge, before application to his own court, under the pain of six pounds Scots.

"32d. Whatever officer shall go through any mercat to draw pawns, shall be obliged to restore back the said pawns to the right owners, and that without loss either of goods or money.

"33d. Every brothered chapman's son shall pay for his entry only the half of the money that a stranger pays.

"34th. No member shall presume to put out the lite for the offices of the principal and depute lords of this incorporation, at

their annual election, excepting the lords principal and depute presently in office, baillies, box masters, and clerks."

"35th. If it be made appear that any of their number do sell goods, either under the price that they cost them, or even at no tolerable profit, they shall be liable to whatsoever fine the court shall think fit to impose upon them, unless they can, and do give in such satisfying excuses as by the court shall be found reasonable and just, namely, as goods being damnified, going out of fashion, too dear bought, or their credit lies at the stake, and find no other way to relieve it, or that they had a very good bargain in view, by which more than ordinary profit could probably be made; and further, that if any merchant doth inform this court of any of their number who make bad payments, so that the merchant will be obliged to pursue him before the Judge Ordinar, and if the person complained upon can be convicted thereof, in face of court, he shall be liable to the censure of the foresaid court.

"36th. The election shall be holden in the town of Stirling, the tenth day of September, which is two days after the fair commonly called the Rideing Fair: And it is further to be noticed, that if the Sabbath shall shoot, or alter the fair, our election shall be still two days thereafter; and who of the brethren are absent from the said election, without a reasonable excuse, to be approven off by the brethren, shall be liable to the fine of seven pounds Scots.

"37th. That every married man entered with this community shall attend any court thereof when warned thereto by the officer, under the pain of losing his liberty, unless he give a lawful excuse why he cannot attend the same.

"38th. All office-bearers of this community that shall be elected together with the whole office-bearers for the preceding year, shall attend my Lord Principal and go along with him to his dinner, wherever it shall happen to be, on the election day, and that under the pain of six pounds Scots."

At their annual meetings in September, the Fraternity elected their officers, of whom the chief were styled "Lord Principal" and "Lord Depute." At the annual meeting held in 1793, there were 106 members present, such being the largest attendance upon

record. In 1795 it was resolved to renew the annual sport of tilting at the ring. The annual gatherings were discontinued subsequent to 1811, when, chiefly on account of the discontinuance of itinerant merchandise, the institution fell into abeyance. The last Principal of the Fraternity was Major John Alexander Henderson of Westerton. The Records of the Fraternity are in the keeping of a gentleman resident in Glasgow.

Vol. i., p. 339, l. 20.—*Cowan's Bequest.*

John Cowan bequeathed for behoof of guild-brethren at Stirling 40,000 marks, equal to £2222 sterling. This sum invested in land yields a free rental of upwards £3000.

Vol. i., p. 348, l. 22.—*The Senzie Fair.*

This great annual fair was held at St Andrews in the cloister of the Priory. Commencing in the second week of Easter, it continued about fifteen days, the harbour during its progress being filled with vessels from France and Holland. So early as the twelfth century foreign merchants fixed their residence in the city, and of these the representatives, two centuries later, occupied positions of opulence. On the 2d of June 1362, Edward III. granted at Westminster a safe-conduct to England in favour of certain Scottish merchants, of whom were John de Dudyngston, John Gudesman, and Walter de Eglesham, burgesses of St Andrews, who are described as accompanied by four horsemen.—*Rotuli Scotiæ*, vol. i., p. 815.

The Senzie Fair continued as one of the principal mercantile resorts in the east of Scotland till the times which succeeded the Reformation. At their meeting on the 6th April 1569, the Town Council of Edinburgh were informed by the magistrates of St Andrews that on account of "the pest" ravaging in their vicinity, the "Seingzie fair" would not be held. The intimation was given so that "the nychtbouris of this burgh sall nocht tyne their tyme."—*Edinburgh Town Council Record.*

Vol. i., p. 354, l. 6.—*A Liar's Pillory.*

At Dunfermline those who were found guilty of falsehood or detraction were placed upon "the lear-stane"—that is, the liars' stone—which was elevated in one of the principal streets. When in the Regality Court of Dunfermline, on the 17th March 1499, Ellyn of Walwode, spouse of John of Walwode, sergeant of the regality, was found to be "ane strubler of Robyn Gibson be detraccione," it was determined "that the lear-stane suld be set agane in the place where it was wont to stand, or els anie [other] gude stane.

Vol. i., p. 363, l. 19.—*House Accommodation.*

Since our first volume was published, the Second Report of the Royal Commissioners on the Houseing of the Working Classes has been issued. Dealing exclusively with Scotland, the Report shows that in Edinburgh there are 14,000 single-room tenements while in Glasgow 25 per cent. of the population live in single rooms. The Report is satisfactory, inasmuch that it indicates a state of improvement; yet it is unworthy of our legislators and of those entrusted with municipal authority that, apart from other considerations, the health of the community should, by a system of overcrowding, be so materially endangered. The only systematic effort which has yet been made to ameliorate the domiciliary condition of a neighbourhood, is that put forth in the city of Edinburgh at the suburb of Dean, on the Water of Leith. The beneficent author of this important operation, Mr John Ritchie Findlay, has, in place of the insalubrious tenements which occupied the locality of the Dean, constructed workmen's dwellings on an approved sanitary system, and which are offered at rents so abundantly moderate as to fully meet the convenience of every prudent artisan.

Vol. i., p. 386, l. 13.—*Coal Miners.*

In the district of Tranent, before the emancipation of the miners, offenders among them were punished in three modes.

First, an iron collar was fastened round the neck of the offender, by means of which he was attached to a wooden support at the pit bottom for a whole day. Or secondly, the culprit had, at the pit-head, his hands tied in front of the gin horse, when he was compelled to run round the gin-gang, back foremost, before the horse, when winding the coal to the pit-head. Or thirdly, if several persons had offended, the horse was relieved from the yoke, and the offenders substituted, and while taking the horse's place were urged on with a whip. When the serfdom of the miner was abolished, coal-owners endeavoured to secure the permanent services of those born upon their estates by handing to each male child, on his christening day, "arles," that is a piece of money implying an engagement.—*M'Neill's "Tranent and its Neighbourhood,"* pp. 21-23.

Vol. i., p. 391, l. 18.—*Flax Manufacture*

By the poet Robert Henryson (1430-1506), the early manufacture of flax is described thus:—

> "The lint ryped, the churle pulled the lyne,
> Ripled the bolles, and in beites it set;
> It steeped in the burne, and dryed syne,
> And with ane beittel knocked it and bet,
> Syne swyngled it weill, and heckled in the flet,
> His wyfe it span and twinde it into threed."

Vol. i., p. 395, l. 18.—*George Buchanan and Thomas Ruddiman.*

From the existence of the Graham and Fairbairn partnership, unsuspected heretofore, some light is reflected upon an occurrence which excited vehement controversy, and largely tended to embitter the life of an accomplished scholar. In presenting to the learned world his important edition of Buchanan's works, Ruddiman assails his author's political opinions with an asperity singularly unbecoming an editor, and totally at variance with the estimate he otherwise entertained of the illustrious writer. He founded his antagonism on the ground that Buchanan had disseminated those doctrines which culminated in the Revolution, and had thereby wrecked the house of Stewart. Discreet

as Ruddiman usually was, both as an editor and an original writer, it appears as if his Jacobitism had been superinduced by some foreign and dangerous influence. Not improbably his injudicious adviser was Mr David Graham, the Jacobite laird of Orchill, through whose financial assistance the publication of Buchanan's works, which in 1702 George Mosman had attempted and been constrained to abandon, was successfully resumed. Graham, as is shown in the catalogue of his books included in his legal inventory, possessed a valuable collection of ancient and modern literature, and he and Ruddiman had, through their kindred tastes, been probably brought together.

In gratifying the Perthshire laird with a view to the completion of his undertaking, Ruddiman excited a strong displeasure on the part of those who otherwise would have commended his industry. At Edinburgh was formed a "Historical Society," composed of many notable persons, which met fortnightly in order to concert measures for refuting what were styled "Mr Ruddiman's calumnies." But funds were not forthcoming, and at length the enterprise was abandoned.

Vol. i., p. 409, l. 8.—*Illicit Distillation.*

If the drinking habits of the people had been proportioned to the eagerness with which persons of the middle and lower ranks aided in the production and distribution of contraband liquor, the nation must have become utterly besotted. To defeat or aid in defeating the officers of excise was deemed an enterprise positively laudable. In order to this end, no stratagem, however revolting, was deemed offensive or unworthy. Thus at the commencement of the present century, one of the principal hotel-keepers at Stirling, when he required a further supply of whisky, sent a funeral cortege into the highlands of Perthshire, which returned laden, hearse included, with casks of the contraband liquor. To lowland vendors, whose dealings were more circumscribed, women conveyed the illicit product of the mountain-still in a species of panniers, composed of tin, which were constructed so as to rest under the dress in the manner of the modern bustle. Some of

these whisky panniers were used in the vicinity of Callander, Perthshire, within the last sixty years. Through the personal inquiries of a gentleman connected with the Geological Survey, we learn that the caverns in the declivities of the mountain of Benvenue were frequented by illicit distillers within the memory of persons now living. Shepherds and herdsmen, in the interest of the "sma' stills," watched the approach of strangers as a species of national or family duty. Early in the century a barge used by the officers of excise was, by unknown hands, probably a party of the inhabitants, sunk in the waters of Loch Lomond.

In his *Memorabilia Domestica* (vol. iii., p. 35), the Rev. Donald Sage refers to the career of Hugh Houston, of Creich, who, at an advanced age, died on the 10th March 1825. Houston was a considerable merchant, but his prosperity was chiefly due to his trading in contraband liquor. Respecting him Mr Sage writes thus: "Mr Houston, when dining at the table of Mr Walter Ross, minister of Clyne, gave a minute account of a narrow escape he had made many years before, from a party of revenue officers, who were informed of his being in the receipt of a large quantity of foreign spirits, and were on their way to seize it. Mr Ross, he said, hearing of his perplexity, collected all the carts and broad-shouldered men in the vicinity, appointing them to meet at his friend's shop, at the hour of midnight, to convey his cargo of smuggled gin and brandy to the church of Clyne, and deposit it under the east gallery. This was done, and the revenue officers were outwitted."

Mr Samuel Milligan, supervisor of excise at Stirling, who died at an advanced age upwards of twenty years ago, informed the writer that he early came to realise that revenue officers belonged to a section of the community utterly unpopular. The gauger, he found, was obnoxious to the old and a terror to the young; no one would satisfy his enquiries, and few were willing to render him service, even for payment. "Informations" against smugglers were made by those only who had been dismissed from their employment.

Vol. ii. p. 16, l. 17.—*General Register House.*

The original grant of £12,000 for the erection of a General Register House was derived from the sale of the forfeited estates; it obtained the royal sanction on the 26th June 1765. The entire cost of the structure was about £25,000.

Vol. ii., p. 25, l. 20.—*Corrupt Judges.*

In 1579 an Act was passed prohibiting the judges "be thame selffis or be thair wiffis or servandes (to) tack, in ony time cuming, buddis, brybes, gudes or geir fra quhatsumever person or persons presentlie havand, or that heirefter sall happyne to have, any actionis or caussis perseuit befoir thaime, aither fra the persewer or defender, under pain of confiscation." That enactment was wholly ineffective, the system of favouritism, consequent on private influence or direct bribery, continuing among the judges to prevail largely. It is related of Sir John Gilmour, Lord President of the Court of Session under Charles II., that when some one in his presence was lauding the impartiality of the English judges, he, by way of explanation, exclaimed, "Deil speed them, for they have neither kith nor kin!" After the Restoration, the use of private influence increased in the Court of Session to such an extent, that the Court endeavoured to repress it by passing an Act of Sederunt of the 6th November 1677. Two years afterwards the Act was renewed.

The judges held communication with suitors by a special mode. Each judge had an agent or "peat." The word "peat" was, it is believed, used as a contraction for Patrick,—a judge who had a son of that name at the bar, being in the way of saying to those suitors who waited upon him, "Have you consulted Pate," a gentle mode of suggesting that their money should be deposited in his hands.

The mode of selecting judges, chiefly on account of their political services, while it has not in recent times conduced to the public disadvantage, might happily be departed from. See "State Papers, and Letters addressed to William Carstares," edited

by Joseph M'Cormick, Edinburgh, 1774, 4to, p. 184; "The Court of Session Garland," second edition, 1871, 8vo, pp. 1-26; Dr Robert Chambers's "Traditions of Edinburgh," pp. 152-4; and Sir Walter Scott's "Bride of Lammermoor, chapter. i.

Vol. ii., p. 27, l. 26.—*Mote Hill; Place of Judgment.*

In the parish of Kintore, Aberdeenshire, to the east of the present royal burgh of that name, and near the banks of the river Don, formerly stood a conical mound, 30 feet in height and 150 feet in diameter at base; it was known as the castle-hill of Kintore. Several years ago, when the North of Scotland Railway was in the course of construction, it became necessary to include the castle-hill in the operations. As the workmen were engaged in the upper portion of the mound, it was ascertained that the original surface had been ten feet lower than the modern one. The former was found covered with a layer of charred earth, and along the east margin, at a point projecting beyond the conical summit, lay together in an irregular manner, a number of small stones, among which were eleven large blocks. Several of the latter were broken up, and the fragments built into railway bridges, before the discovery became known. But on a visit to the place, Mr Alexander Watt, a local antiquary, discovered among the unbroken blocks two bearing sculptures, and a third, composed of "blue heathen," a species of gneiss, of which the top was artificially hollowed, so as to form a seat. It is conjectured that this rude "chair" was used as the judgment-seat of this primitive *mod-dun*. The sculptured stones found, along with the judgment-chair, are now deposited in the Antiquarian Museum at Edinburgh, and are correctly represented and described by Dr John Stuart in the first volume of his "Sculptured Stones." One of the stones bears on each side the double disc and broken spear; also the conventional beast of the archaic age. The other represents the double crescent. By the former symbol we recognise the memorial stone of the lord of the forest; by the latter, that of a married woman, the wife of some ancient chief.

At a short distance from the mound at Kintore was discovered

a series of pits, round and oval, from 3 to 4 feet in length, and from 2 to 3 in breadth, each containing charcoal and bones. In times less remote capital sentences were carried out in the immediate vicinity of the place of judgment, or upon it. And it is to be remarked that while the sculptured symbols associated with the judgment chair at Kintore would point to an age prior to the introduction of Christianity, the place is found long afterwards the centre of one of the landward divisions called thanages, to which was attached a local tribunal.

At Chapel of Garioch, in Aberdeenshire, about half a mile to the north-west of the parish church, a sculptured stone ten feet in height, two feet ten inches broad, and about ten inches thick, is known as the Maiden—that is *Mod-dun* stone. The association of this monument with the word "maiden" has been accounted for by a gruesome legend.

Vol. ii., p. 29, l. 13.—*A Border Law of Combat.*

There was an ancient law of the marches called "Handwarcelle," whereby the ownership of stolen goods was judicially determined. Arms were supplied to the combatants, but the precise character of the conflict, or its consequences, are not quite apparent. For some particulars in connection with this mode of border law, enacted in July and September 1280, see "Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland," edited by Joseph Bain, 1884, vol. ii., pp. 58-9.

Vol. ii., p. 33, l. 15.—*Legal Oppression.*

The king's "poor kindly tenants of Lochmaben," in a petition dated "Dumfries, 12th June 1592," set forth that they were "wreckit and herryed at all tymes be the theves, baith English and Scottish, on baith their borders," also that "at divers tymes they were heavily extortionate be wardens, deputies, and keipers and constables of your Majestie's castle, reiving and takeing away our naigs out of our taiks and occupations at their ain hand at their pleasure." Instructions were given that the kindly

tenants should not be further molested.—(*Register of Deeds, Dalrymple Office, Vol.* 113, *Part* 2, *November* 28*th*, 1722.)

Vol. ii., p. 37, l. 2.—*District Prisons.*

At the commencement of the century, the keeper of the prison at Dunfermline was Mr John Henderson, watchmaker. Henderson, who was as keeper very imperfectly recompensed, usually entrusted the care of the prisoners to one of their own number, who, in acknowledgment of service, was allowed his freedom from early morning till the usual hour of rest.

Vol. ii., p. 45, l. 9.—*A Sheep-stealer's Sentence.*

On the 6th July 1699, in the sheriff-court of Clackmannan, Robert Livingstone, chapman at Crook of Devon, pleaded guilty to the charge of stealing a ram and two wedders. He was consequently, by Mr William Murray the sheriff-depute, sentenced "to be stripped naked of his clothes, and scourged by the hand of the hangman through the whole town of Clackmannan, with one of the sheep's heads and four feet hanging about his neck, and thereafter to be banished out of the said shire." The sentence proceeds that the offender "enacts himself that if ever he be seen or found within the said shire . . . he shall be guilty of death, without any order or process of law to be used against him for that offence."

Vol. ii., p. 49, l. 26.—*For* "indicator" *read* "judicator."

Vol. ii., p. 68, l. 4.—*Kidnapping.*

In the Records of the Justiciary Court, examples are common in which on conviction for secondary crimes, sentence of death was commuted into exile to the plantations. But prior to the abolition of heritable jurisdictions in 1748, a system of kidnapping of boys was largely carried on in those districts which were adjacent to northern seaports. The extent to which this infamous system of seizing young persons and shipping them to the American colonies had been carried was exposed on the trial, in 1765, of Peter

Williamson, a youth kidnapped at Aberdeen, and who having returned to this country proceeded to make known the infamous practice. Subjected to trial for detraction, Williamson justified the truth of his assertions, and thereby conduced towards the entire suppression of the system.

Vol. ii., p. 79, l. 21.—*The House of Durward.*

The founder of the house of Durward was door-ward or door-keeper to the king. Alan Durward held office as *ostiarius regis* at the court of Alexander II.

Vol. ii., p. 84, l. 24.—*The Order of Reader.*

The order of reader, though abolished by the General Assembly in 1645, was practically continued. In the Parish Register of Muthill, Perthshire, occurs the following entry: "12th June 1684. The minister and elders, taking to their consideration the small allowance the reader has for his service, do unanimouslie ordaine that every adulterer and adulteress, fornicator and fornicatress shall each of them pay to him eight shillings. . . . The said day the reader is ordained to receive and keep the pledges consigned by persones to be contracted, and to be answerable for them." The reader at Muthill was also parochial schoolmaster and session-clerk.

Vol. ii., p. 87, l. 2.—*Church Vestments.*

On the 1st of August 1560, the same day on which met that Convention of the Estates which established the Reformed faith, the Town Council of Edinburgh, in anticipation of the enactment, gave instructions that "the hale vestimenttis, kaipis, and uther kirk grayth . . . be sould and bestowit vpoun the said kirk wark."—*Town Council Records of Edinburgh.*

Vol. ii., p. 95, l. 12.—*Intercessory Prayer.*

On the 30th April 1637, when much sickness prevailed in the parish of Tynningham, "thirtie-three people were prayed for in the kirk."—*Tynningham Parish Register.*

Vol. ii., p. 110, l. 27.—*Church Seats.*

In pre-Reformation times the clergy and gentry were at Divine service accommodated with sittings in the choir and chancel, which were paved with stone slabs, or glazed and coloured tiles. The common people were admitted only to the nave, which generally had an earthen floor, on which was strewn hay or straw, for convenience in kneeling. On the 19th of June 1560, about a year after the church of St Giles, at Edinburgh, had been appropriated for Protestant worship, the Town Council ordained the dean of guild to use the timber "lyand within the volt vnder the tolbuith, to mak saittis, fwrmes, and stullis for the peple to syt vpoun the tyme of the sermoun and prayaris within the kirk." He was also instructed "till do all vther thingis as salbe thocht gude for decoring [of] the kirk." In the provincial towns and rural parishes, seats and desks were placed in churches by private families with permission of the kirksession. But such permission was not uniformly obtained, for in 1603 the kirksession of Stirling refused to allow the Commissary "to big ane removabill dask for his wyff, before that seat pertaining to my Lady Countess of Argyll." In 1627 the same kirksession licensed the construction of one seat for the minister's wife. Up to this period nearly the whole of the church seats consisted of moveable benches and stools, which were ordinarily the property of those by whom they were used. The poor and occasional hearers were supplied with stools by the church officer, and the gratuities he received for granting the accommodation were included among the perquisites of his office. In 1637 the kirksession of Galston, in Ayrshire, resolved that "the whole daskes of the kirk be maid of one form, and all of one kind of timber, either of oaks or firs." In towns and populous places, there was usually "a common loft" with fixed pews, which were leased annually to the highest bidder. Pews were introduced about the commencement of the eighteenth century.

Vol. ii., pp. 121-5.—*Sacramental Modes.*

As a sequel to the narrative of Professor Walker, we are privileged to adduce the experience, of two other clerical writers. In his *Memorabilia Domestica*, under the year 1789, Mr Donald Sage, minister of Resolis, writes thus :—"In the north of Scotland a distinction in the annual celebration of the Lord's Supper prevailed, which in the south was unknown. That distinction obtained between the public and private or parochial administration. The ordinance was considered to be publicly administered, when communicants from other parishes joined in the observance, and also when, on that account, there were two distinct services, one in Gaelic and the other in English, as well as two different congregations, the one without and the other within doors. . . . On these occasions it was customary for the minister to keep open table, as the services were prolonged, and many of the parishioners came from a distance. . . . The whole of the preceding week was occupied in giving and receiving presents of mutton, butter, and cheese. I have seen the whole range of a large cellar so closely occupied with mutton carcases, that the floor of the apartment was literally paved with them. . . . The sacramental occasions at Kildonan [Sutherlandshire] have made an impression upon me. The congregation was assembled before the church and close by the banks of the river, the communion table extending about thirty feet long, covered with a white cloth, and surrounded by a dense multitude, amounting in numbers to between three and four thousand."

In his "Reminiscences of Yarrow" (1886), Dr James Russell remarks that in the district of Ettrick, a compact was at hiring time entered into between masters and servants, that the latter were during their term of engagement to be allowed to attend so many fairs and so many sacraments. At the sacraments in Ettrick and Yarrow, baps of bread and barrels of ale were planted round the churchyard enclosure for purchase and use. When a popular preacher mounted the rostrum, a rush was made to the tent, but when 'a wauf hand' turned up, the baps and barrels carried the day."

In the seventeenth, and also in the eighteenth centuries the communion table was, at the cost of the kirksession, made for the occasion. Consisting of large trees and deal boards rudely fashioned by the village joiner, all imperfections were concealed under the decent covering of a white cloth.—*Edgar's "Old Church Life,"* pp. 137-8.

Vol. ii. p. 130, l. 12.—*Church Tokens.*

Tokens, originally called "tickets," were usually made of lead, and not infrequently were of local manufacture. On the 29th June 1719, the kirksession of Dunning resolved that tokens were "all to be got new, the old ones having been taken away, instead of money, by the highlanders, when the town was burnt in time of the rebellion. Further, that there be no fraud committed by any who may happen to find any of the old ones, the session thought requisite that the new ones should have stampt on them the letters D. K., also the date of the present year 1719." —*Dunning Kirksession Records.* When the first communion of the Secession Church at Ceres was celebrated in 1743, circular pieces of leather with a hole pierced in the centre, were used as tokens.—*Edgar's "Old Church Life,"* p. 139.

Vol. ii., p. 133, l. 3.—*Non-celebration of the Communion.*

In his valuable work, "Old Church Life in Scotland," Dr Edgar explains the cause why in the seventeenth century, the communion was for long intervals unobserved. The Protesters, Dr Edgar remarks, held the communion in such reverence that, so long as there was division of sentiment in their congregations on ecclesiastical topics, they stopped the celebration. At a meeting of the six kirksessions of Edinburgh in April 1652, it was concluded that the communion "cannot convenientlie be celebrate, as is now thought, till there be a lawful judicatorie of the kirk to determine anent the present cause of defection carried on amongst us anent the Covenant, and what censure it deserves." The leader of the Protesting party was James Guthrie of Stirling, and in the kirksession register of his parish appears the following

minute:—"November 5, 1657.—The eldership seriouslie and saddlie laying to heart the Lord's just displeasure which hath evidenced itselff in the congregation, being now for the space of nyne yeires without the enjoyment of that sealling ordinance, together with the earnest longing of many Christianes to partake thereof, and having great hopes that the manifestation of Chryst unto His people thairin sall tend much vnto the advancing of His interest in the hearts of His people, they do therefore vnanimouslie appoynt and ordaine that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper be celebrate vpone the Lord's dayes, being the 15th and 22d of this instant November. Further, that they (the congregation) divide their families equallie, the one half of those that are found fitt to communicate to come the first, and the other half the second day." Dr Edgar shows that the Resolutioners as well as the Protesters experienced some difficulty in regard to the celebration proceeding on the want of brotherly concord; and impressed as they were with the conviction that so long as there were charges of defection on the one hand, and of contumacy on the other, the sacred ordinance might not be worthily observed. Nor were these views confined to the period of Covenanting struggles. For subsequent to the triumph of Presbytery at the Revolution, and the consequent healing of divisions, the members of the kirksession of Stirling felt called upon to pass the following resolution:—"29th March 1699.—The Session, considering that in this place the sacrament of the Lord's Supper hath not been administered these many years bygone, do design and determine, if the Lord will, that the day thereof be the twenty-eight day of May in the present year, being the last Sabbath thereof." In 1705 Mr John Hepburn, minister of Urr in Galloway, a man of deep religious fervour, was deposed from the ministry on the principal charge of "having neither dispensed the Lord's Supper to others nor partaken thereof himself for more than sixteen years."

Vol. ii., pp. 141-2.—*Parish Manses.*

In the specification of a manse for the parish of Dalmellington, submitted in 1699 to the Presbytery of Ayr, the intended structure

is described as "threttie-six feet in lenth and fourteen feet wide within the walls, threttine feet high of side walls, two fire rooms below and two fire rooms above and cumseiled, with window cases and boards, glasses, partition walls, and all that is necessary to make a compleat manse, with a barn of three couple lenth, and a stable two couple lenth."

In describing the manse of Lochcarron, in Ross-shire, reared about the year 1726, Mr Donald Sage proceeds thus:—"The manse of Lochcarron was constructed after the fashion of all Highland houses about the end of the seventeenth century. One hundred feet long, the walls were built of stone about three feet in height over the foundation, and around the roots of the cupples which were previously fixed in the ground, and over which were several layers of turf or fail, so as to bring the wall to the height of ten feet. The whole was thatched with divot or heather. The building was divided into several apartments—the first was called the chamber, where there was a chimney at one end, a small glazed window looking to the south, and a tent bed inserted into the partition which divided it from the next room. In this apartment the heads of the family sat and took their meals; the bed in it was usually appropriated for guests. The next apartment contained tent beds close to each other for the junior members of the family, with an entry door by which access to the principal apartment was provided for the heads of the family to their own apartment as well as for their guests. From this second apartment, separate from the first, a back jamb went out, and which was the sleeping room of the heads of the family. Next came what was called the *carn*, or servants' hall (tigh slathat), which was larger, or rather longer, than the other two. It had a small boarded window on each side. The fireplace was usually an old mill-stone placed in the centre of the apartment, and on which the peat fire was kindled, with no other substitute for a vent than just a hole in the roof, fenced with a basket of wicker work open at both ends. Around the fire sat the servants of the family, and in the houses of farmers, also the heads of the family with their children.

Divided from the *carn*, and often by a very slender partition, was the byre, or cow-house, occupying at least fifty feet of its length. Such was the first manse of Lochcarron. The manse of Kildonan, in Sutherlandshire, as it stood in 1780, is described by Mr Sage in these words :—" The body of the house, the unalterable model of manses in those days, which was that it had the usual number of chimneys, namely, one rising like an ass's ears at either end, and answering the purpose for which they were designed as ill as usual, as they drove the smoke down, instead of conveying it upward. It contained also the usual number of windows, viz., in front three in the upper flat, and two below, that is one on each side of the principal door. On the east gable there was in the upper flat a solitary window which looked out from the drawing-room, or rather dining-room, for drawing-rooms in manses were almost unknown, and then a small window at the summit of each gable to light the garrets, very nearly approximating in size and appearance to the loopholes of the ancient fortress; these served, in the apartments for which they were intended, to make "darkness visible." The whole was built of lime and stone, and the roof covered with blue slate, a matter of little moment in these times of improvement, but of no ordinary consequence then, in a highland parish twenty-four miles long by seventeen broad, where it stood as the only human residence so constructed; in other words, it was the only lime and stone slated house in the whole parish. The arrangements within exhibited the infancy of architecture. The partitions were made in the technical language of builders 'cat and clay' plastered over with lime, and finished with a coat of 'whitewash,' which was so made up as to be communicative to every one coming in contact with it. The rooms, including the garrets, were eight in number, namely, a parlour and bedroom, and an intervening closet, with a small window to the north on the lower flat. A dining-room, bedroom, and an intervening back closet of similar dimensions with its neighbour below, but accommodated with a larger window, on the second flat; also two garrets on the attic storey, the one fitted up as a bedroom, the

other a long dreary apartment without plaster, and used as a place for lumber. Two low buildings stretched out in front from each end of the manse; that to the west contained the nursery, the kitchen, and the byre, divided from each other by 'cat and clay' partitions, which very soon gave way, and brought the human and bestial inmates of each apartment within eye shot of each other. The east wing contained the barn and stable, divided by the same sort of partitions. From the barn door to the east extended a small rude enclosure intended as a corn yard, and from the stable door in the same direction another, as a cattle fold. A few yards to the north-east of the corn yard stood a flimsy clay and stone building, fitted up as a kiln. The whole of the office houses were roofed with divot and with clay and straw, which in process of time, and by the action of the weather, so far as the winds permitted, got an additional coat of green fog, but the heavy rains penetrated these miserable roofs from the first moment of their construction to the last stage of their decay."—*Memorabilia Domestica*, 1694-1819, vol. i., pp. 32-3, 188-9.

Vol. ii., p. 145, l. 3.—*Pre-Reformation Patronage.*

Pre-Reformation patrons did not always insist on supplying vacant cures irrespective of popular sentiment. By Dr William Fraser, in his "Chiefs of Grant," are related the circumstances which attended the election of a clerk in the parish of Duthil, in Morayshire. On the 13th January 1547, the parishioners assembled in the church, when Mr Andrew Grant, an applicant for the vacant clerkship, appeared before them to solicit their votes. Having received a unanimous support, Mr Andrew ascended the altar step, and there, while high mass was celebrated, he, in a loud voice, requested the parishioners who consented to his election, to stand up. Upon this, reports the notary who has recorded the proceedings, every one in the church rose, and with one voice exclaimed, "We choose Mr Andrew Grant to be our parish clerk of Duthil, and no other, unless we are compelled to the contrary by James, laird of Grant; and if we should

be so compelled by the said James to elect another, we will that last election to be null and void to any one accepting it, inasmuch as it could not be called an election, but compulsion." Then follows the formal sanction given by the Dean of Moray to the election, the parishioners being admonished by him, "under pain of excommunication, to pay the dues and rights of the clerkship to Mr Andrew Grant, and to no other."

Vol. ii., p. 146, l. 12.—*Institution under Episcopacy.*

In the Kirksession Register of Tillicoultry, appears the following entry :—"17th May 1676. On the whilk day preached Mr Robert Kirk, minister at Balquhidder. . . . Sermon being ended, the said Mr Robert Kirk, in obedience to the Bishop's appointment, and conform to Sir John Nicolson's presentation, together with collation granted thereupon by the said James, Bishop of Dunblane, he did proceed and actually give institution and admission to Mr Alexander Keith to be minister of the foresaid kirk of Tillicultrie, whereupon he delivered to him the Bible, and took him by the hand, and likewise all the rest of the brethren then present; as also the said Sir John and Mr David Craigengelt, and John Sharp. As also he delivered to him the beltoul [bell-rope], the keys of the kirk, and the keys of the manse, and delivered to him earth and stane of the glybe of Tillicoultrie, whereupon the said Mr Alexander Kirk took instruments."

Vol. ii., pp. 147-155.—*The Secession Church.*

Our friend the Rev. Walter Macleod has sent us the following note :—"The Secession took place in 1733 on the grounds stated in the 'Testimony' published soon afterwards. In 1747, when the 'Associates' had increased so as to form a Synod, a division took place on the question of the Burgess oath, which engaged the jurants to uphold the religion presently professed in the land. The members of the Secession who held that the oath might be taken by them were styled the Burghers, while those who deemed the acceptance of the oath inconsistent with their profession were known as Anti-Burghers. Each of these societies became further

subdivided into the Old and New Light Burghers and Anti-Burghers—this change occurring with the former in 1799, and with the latter in 1806. The Old Light party included Dr Thomas M'Crie, author of the Life of Knox, who with three other ministers organised the Constitutional Presbytery. The 'New Lights' of both parties became one in 1820 as the United Secession Church, and this body, by union with the Relief Church in 1847, formed the United Presbyterian Church. The majority of the Old Light Burghers returned to the Establishment in 1839; and the residue, joining a majority of the Anti-Burghers in 1842, formed the United Original Secession, the greater part of whom joined the Free Church in 1852. The conservative portion of the Anti-Burghers, who protested against the union of 1842, still continue under the designation of Original Seceders."

Vol. ii., pp. 157-8.—"*The Men.*"

"Referring to a muttering or conversational whisper, habitual during divine service, among the elders who, in Sutherland parishes, sat together in the lettron, or elders' seat (so called from the reading or precentor's desk, which usually stood in it), Mr Donald Sage, minister of Resolis, writes:—"The conversation was directly the reverse of anything bordering upon levity. Their low whispering conversation was nothing else than the impression made upon their own minds by the truths they were hearing. It must be admitted, however, that they very probably had a particular motive in making themselves so conspicuous. The principle on which elders in a highland parish in those days invariably were elected, was, that they should be not only the most advanced in years, but the most eminent Christians in the parish. To sustain the character of the office, and to act on the principle of their appointment to it by the tacit suffrages of the people, must be allowed, reasonably enough, to account for the rather ostentatious display which they made before their fellow parishioners of their attention to the sermon."
—*Memorabilia Domestica*, Vol. i. p. 314.

Vol. ii., p. 158, l. 8.—*Clerical Magistrates.*

While, as stated in the text, there existed in the northern counties, more especially in that of Caithness, a body of laymen, who in a measure usurped the functions of the clergy, the latter were not infrequently entrusted with duties considerably apart from those which strictly pertained to the sacred office. In his *Memorabilia Domestica* (p. 113), Mr Sage remarks that the Rev. Alexander Pope, minister of Reay, in Caithness (1734-1782), was commissioned by the Sheriff to magisterially enforce order in his parochial district, and this by personal exertion he thoroughly effected. A short thick cudgel, which he bore with him in his walks, and frequently exercised upon the unruly, was among Mr Pope's parishioners known as "the bailie." Mr John Anderson, minister of Bellie or Fochabers (1809-1819) held office as factor to the Duke of Gordon, and was also commissioned as a Justice of the Peace. Hence the rhyme :—

"Maister John Anderson,
Factor to his grace ;
Minister of Fochabers,
And Justice of the Peace."

The plurality of offices exercised by Mr Anderson was obnoxious to his brethren of the Presbytery of Strathbogie, and their disapproval was, on the 27th May 1819, affirmed by the General Assembly. In their judgment proceeding on an appeal, the Assembly held that "engaging in secular employments was inconsistent with the full and faithful discharge of the spiritual function." In consequence of the Assembly's deliverance Mr Anderson resigned his parochial cure.

Vol. ii., p. 165, l. 1.—*Annual Election of Elders.*

In the year 1615 was held at Fossoway "the annual election of elders," Mr Lawrence Mercer being the incumbent.—*Kirksession Register.*

Vol. ii., p. 165, l. 8.—"*Antediluvian Elders.*"

In south-western districts at the close of the seventeenth and the commencement of the eighteenth centuries, certain elders are in the kirksession registers described as "antediluvian." The term, in its ecclesiastical relation, is explained by Wodrow as signifying that the office-bearers so designated "had seen the glory of the former temple, and were ordained before the Restoration." Ministers who belonged to the pre-Restoration period were also occasionally designated "antediluvian."

Vol. ii., pp. 166-7.—*The Jaggs or Jougs.*

In the kirksession register of Tynningham appears the following entry:—"On the 15th October 1615, Maister John [Lauder] regrating that there was sae many railers in the toun especiallie women, and that they troublit the session sae aft, earnestlie desyrit that the civil magistrat wad concur in punishing of them, and that jogis micht be maid at the kirk door, wherein the delinquents micht be put." At Alva in Stirlingshire, the punishment of the Jaggs was rigorously enforced. In the parish register is the following entry:—"May 29, 1681. The Session appointed the clerk to make record that as sentenced, John Ure had at the second bell entered the Jaggs, and stood there all the time bareheaded till the third bell was rung in, and that then he came into the church, and sate on the white furme before the pulpitt, and that after Divine service in the forenoon immediately before pronouncing the blessing, being called upon publickly by the minister, he expressed sorrow and grief for his sin. He was," proceeds the minute, "adjudged to give appearance the next Lord's-day, in the same manner he had done this." Ure's offence was that he had said to a neighbour he would slay him "but for the fear of man rather than the fear of God."

At Fenwick, in Ayrshire, the jaggs remain attached to the church wall, about five feet from the ground; and in the Kirk-session Register of that parish, there are recorded cases of culprits being sentenced to "stand in the jougs from eight till ten, and thence to go to the place of repentance within the kirk."

Vol. ii. pp. 193-4.—*Travelling Modes.*

Early in the eighteenth century ministers expatiated upon one text or theme for six or eight consecutive Sundays. Barrenness of doctrine was ascribed to those preachers who exhausted a text readily. On the 30th April 1704, Mr Mungo Lindsay, minister of Sorn, commenced a series of discourses on the second part of the 19th Psalm, and upon these eight verses he discoursed for one year and seven months. One of the questions put at Presbyterial visitations was, whether the portion of Scripture preached on that day by the minister was his ordinary text any time before, and the expected and approved answer was, "Yes." Complaining to the Presbytery of Ayr of their minister, Mr John Hanna, the parishioners of Craigie, in 1707, set forth among other imperfections in his conducting the public services, that "he doth often change his text, and doth not raise many heads, and doth not present such as he names, but scruffs them."—*Dr Edgar's Old Church Life, pp.* 87-99.

Vol. ii., p. 195.—*Examination of Elders.*

On the second Sunday of June 1651, the elders of Tillicoultry made their annual "tryel of ther life and conversation and fidelitie." Their minute proceeds—"Andrew Blair was thocht to be remisse and slack in his office, and is desyrit to be admonished for this tyme." Of William Drysdall, it is alleged that he "was thocht remisse in his office, and given somewhat to banning;" he was therefore "admonished gravelie." As to their brother, Robert Ure, the members held that he was much to be blamed for slackness in his calling," also that he was "too frequent in the brewster hous;" he was consequently adjudged to be "gravelie admonished in face of the Session."—*Tillicoultry Kirksession Register.*

Vol. ii., p. 111, l. 12; p. 160, l. 12; p. 209, l. 8.—*Sunday Fairs.*

The Church Fairs, derived from the latin "feria," signifying a festival, took origin in the necessity for providing refreshment to

those who assembled from great distances to engage in public worship. Though the practice of Sunday marketing, into which the congregational "fair" ultimately degenerated, was condemned by Parliamentary statute, both before and after the Reformation, it was long resolutely persisted in. In reference to the existence of the practice at a modern period, we have in the "Memoirs of Robert Haldane of Airthrey," Lond. 1852, pp. 7, 8, the following narrative:—"Mungo Haldane [of Gleneagles] was successively M.P. for the counties of Perth and Stirling, and died in 1757 at the age of seventy-three, unmarried. He was well remembered by a tenant of the Gleneagles estate, who lived to be more than a hundred years old, and was known to many of the present generation. He used to tell how the laird put an end to Sunday trading in the neighbourhood by means not very consonant with the modern voluntary principle. It seems that Sunday trafficking was then prevalent in Scotland, in consequence of the packmen or itinerant hawkers bringing their goods for sale to the church doors on the Lord's day. As chief magistrate in the neighbourhood, the Baron of Gleneagles issued an order prohibiting the practice. On the following Sunday he did not happen himself to go to Blackford Church, but meeting his servants returning, he inquired whether the packmen had obeyed his mandate. Being informed that they had not, the old tenant used to tell with great emphasis, how 'the laird clapped his hand on his sword,' and declared that if he lived over another Sabbath, he would make the packmen repent of their perverseness. Accordingly, on the following Sunday, he himself went to the church, and finding the packmen assembled as usual and spreading out their goods for sale, he drew out his sword and scattered them in an instant. Having pursued them down the hill, as they fled in trepidation before the irate and portly Baron, he returned to the church gates and tossed their wares into the adjoining lake. This exercise of a 'rigour beyond the law,' which in those days was not very nicely weighed, had the desired effect, and Sunday trading has never been again attempted near Gleneagles from that day to the present." Nearly three centuries after the dilapidation of the structure, the site of

Cambuskenneth Abbey, near Stirling, continued to be used as a place of Sunday marketing. In August 1848, a vigorous effort for the suppression of the practice was set on foot by Mr Peter Drummond, an energetic burgess of Stirling, who by means of printed tracts on Sunday observance, induced purchasers to withdraw.

Vol. ii., pp. 213-17.—*Church Attendance.*

The Kirksession of Alva, in a minute dated the 13th November 1665, and denoted on the margin, "a hint to the laird," gave the following instruction :—"William Mitchel to desire his honour to be more early at the church on the Sabbath, because of the shortness of the day." Not improbably Sir James Erskine, who then possessed the barony of Alva, inclined to believe that there was some excuse for escaping the early part of a religious service which in a short November day extended probably from eleven o'clock till late in the afternoon.

On the 16th October 1693, Mr Robert Gourlaw, minister of Tillicoultry, in the prospect of being "a moneth away by appointment of the Synod, requested the elders to notice that the people attend the ordinances in the neighbouring congregations till his return."—*Tillicoultry Kirksession Register.*

Vol. ii., pp. 220-222.—*Punishment of Church Sleepers.*

The Kirksession of Dundonald in 1642 determined that "no women be suffered to sit in the time of sommer with plyds upon their heids," since "it is a cleuck to their sleiping in tyme of sermon." The Kirksession of Monifieth in 1643 took the decisive but strangely irreverent course of handing to "the bedall 5s. to buy one pynt of tar to put upon the women that held the plaid above their heads in the church."

Vol. ii., pp. 240-248.—*Secular Authority of Church Courts.*

Kirksessions exercised authority in demanding the exile of those who had settled within the bounds of their jurisdiction without producing proper attestations. Thus, on the 28th April

1698, the Kirksession of Tillicoultry, on being informed that a man had come to the parish from Blackford without a certificate, instructed their officer to cause him to procure written evidence of respectability, under the pain of his being proceeded against before the civil magistrate in order to his removal.—(*Tillicoultry Kirk-session Register*). Even the celebrated robber chief, Rob Roy Macgregor, when in the year 1691 arraigned by the Kirksession of Balquhidder for certain social irregularities, did not venture to decline the sessional jurisdiction. Macgregor was charged along with "Janet Dow Macgregor, his servant in Crigans," also with "a daughter of Donald Roy Ferguson in Balquidder."—(*Kirk-session Register of Balquhidder*). James Alexander, tenant at Milnab, Perthshire, charged with committing a social offence within the bounds of the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy, granted to that Presbytery, on the 20th September 1711, a legal bond, whereby under a penalty of two hundred pounds Scots, he became bound "to present and sist himself personallie before the Presbytery during the heall steps and dependence of process against him."—(*General Register of Deeds, Mackenzie Office*, vol. 109, December 10, 1711).

In his "Memorabilia Domestica," Mr Sage relates the particulars of a case of compulsory discipline of a most singular character. We present the narrative in his own words:—"The Rev. Alexander Pope, minister of Reay [from 1734 to 1782], was a man of very extraordinary strength of body and vigour of mind, and of deep and fervent piety. . . . He chose as his elders not only the most decent and orderly, but also the strongest men in the parish, the latter qualification being particularly necessary for the work they had often to do. A coarse fellow, a farmer, kept his mistress. Pointing out to him the sinfulness of his conduct, Mr Pope called upon him to make a public profession of his repentance by appearing before the congregation to be publicly reproved. Flying into a passion, the fellow exclaimed, 'Before I submit to any such thing you may pluck the last tooth out of my head.' 'We shall see,' replied the minister. . . . When the Session next met it was agreed that three of the strongest of their number should repair to the fellow's house next Sabbath morning,

pinion his arms, and bring him to the church. When the Sabbath came this was done. The elders reached the farmer's house about ten, and after a fierce combat mastered him, and having bound him with a rope, marched him to church. When they arrived, one of the elders went to the minister to report what had been done and to receive further instructions. 'Bind him to one of the seats before the pulpit,' said Mr Pope, 'and sit one of you on each side of him until the service is finished.' This order was obeyed. Before pronouncing the blessing, Mr Pope proceeded to reprove the offender. 'You told us,' he began, 'that we might pull the last tooth out of your head before you would submit to be where you are, but'—pointing his finger in scorn at him, and uttering one of his most contemptible sounds, with his breath between his lips, which can better be imagined than described, he added, '*Fire faire! ort' a' inboic dùd! c'aite m' beil thu nis*'—an idiomatic phrase of one language which cannot be translated into another, but which may be rendered, 'You poor braggart, where are you now?'"—(*Memorabilia Domestica*, vol. i., pp. 116, 117). In a notice of the stalwart minister of Reay, Dr Hew Scott remarks that he used to drive his graceless parishioners to church with a stick, when he found them engaged on Sunday at games out of doors.—(*Fasti Eccl. Scot.*, iii. 367), Sessional rebukes, administered by the moderator, usually extended to great length. In the parish of Dundonald, in Ayrshire, the minister's pulpit address to social offenders was popularly described as "the wee sermon," in contradistinction to the ordinary discourse. By a few of the clergy a more reasonable course was adopted. Thus Mr Thomas Edward, minister of Tynningham (1686-1695), is, in the Kirksession register of his parish, reported as rebuking persons under discipline in these simple words, "According to your repentance, so be it unto you."

Vol. ii., pp. 256-8.—*The Last Wolf.*

There is no wolf, or part of the animal, in the Macgregor arms. Nearly every district in Scotland puts forth a claim to be the place where "the last wolf" was slain. Not improbably

the actual "last" was that killed by Macqueen of Pall-à-chrocain, who died in 1797. A man of great stature and of corresponding strength, Macqueen kept the best deer-hounds in the country. One day, in the winter of 1743, he received a message from the chief of clan Mackintosh, that a large wolf had on the preceding day killed two children, who, with their mothers, were crossing the hills from Calder. Macqueen was consequently invited by the chief to attend a "Tainchel," or gathering in the forest of Tarnaway, in Moray, and to bring with him his dogs. On the morning of the tryst, Mackintosh waited eagerly for Macqueen, but he only arrived at noon. As Mackintosh was about to complain of his delay, Macqueen raised his plaid, and drew from under his arm the bloody head of the aggressor. "I met the bit beastie," said Macqueen, "and this is his head." Mackintosh expressed his admiration, and rewarded his vigorous kinsman with the lands of Sean-a-chan for "meat to his dogs."

Vol. ii., p. 292, l. 25.—*Chivalric Sports. The Round Table.*

We have ascertained by an actual measurement of it, that the Round Table at Stirling is of precisely the same dimensions as that which was constructed at Windsor, and of the other "table" at Kenilworth.

Vol. ii., p. 315, l. 26.—*For* "" Lochleven" *read* "Lochmaben."

Vol. ii., p. 394, l. 26.—*For* "Chieswood" *read* "Chiefswood."

Vol. ii., p. 396, l. 10.—*For* "time" *read* "wine."

Vol. iii., p. 108, l. 12.—*Simon, Lord Lovat.*

In the public collections preserved in the General Register House are included several letters of the twelfth baron of Lovat. In these Simon appears not discreditably. To a letter which on the 14th March 1730 he addressed to George Crawford, the historiographer, he attached the following postscript: "The Marquis of Annandale is dead at Venise, and left his estate to

my Lady Hopetoun and disinherited his two brothers, so you may believe he is in hell—adieu."

The indignation with which Lovat so tersely expresses his abhorrence of an act of disinheriting is at a later period followed by personal beneficence. One of the magistrates of Inverness, Bailie John Stewart, to whom Simon was related by marriage, was under a monetary obligation to a brother of Macleod of Cadboll, who was through his agents adopting rigorous measures for the recovery of the debt. On behalf of his relative, Lovat pleaded with Cadboll in the following letter:—

"My dear Laird of Cadbol,—I hope this letter will find you in perfect health, and I beg leave to assure you of my most sincere and most affectionate respects and best wishes.

"I had the honour to write to you two weeks ago about poor Mr Donald Fraser's unfortunate fate. But I hope he will soon be provided for in spite of B——n, &c. I now presume to solicite you upon as disagreable a subject. Honest Baillie Stewart of Inverness, with whom I lived in great friendship for many years, and who is married to my near relation, M'Leod of Drynach's daughter, has fallen low more by the misfortunes of the times than by his own fault or mismanagement. He is owing you a debt, and your doers have been very hard upon him; he was forced to fly his own house for fear of being put in prison by caption. When his friends represented to you his melancholy situation, you were so good as to take a presentation of him, having got Baillie M'Intosh of Inverness as cautioner, a sufficient man,—and when Baillie Stewart let you see that he had a good friend to pay you, and was fully resolved to do it, as soon as his papers came from the south, which completed his right to the effects which he was to dispose of for your payment, you were so very good as to take a second presentation. But his agent, William Fraser, being so negligent as not to send north his papers by the last post, he is threatn'd to be put in prison next week if he does not pay the money, which he is no more able to do than to eat the Castle of Inverness. Now, my dear cousine, the favour that I ask of you is this, that you will prolong the presentation

he lyes now under for three weeks or a month, since he expects his papers from his agent every post, and is very positive that in three weeks he will satisfie you; and to let you see that my request is not impertinent, which I would never be guilty of to my dear laird of Cadbol, if Baillie Stewart dos not satisfie you in a moneth's time, I will give my own security for that money payable at Whitsunday next, and my security for that sum is as good as any of the banks. I therefore most humbly entreat my dear Cadbol that you may grant my earnest request, which will be an everlasting obligation put upon me and many an honest man besides, which I will not conceall from them if you grant it. I humbly beg pardon for this freedom, and I hope that you believe that I am with unalterable attachment, sincere gratitude, and a singular respect, my dear laird of Cadbol, your most obedient and most obliged humble servant, and most affectionate cousine. "LOVAT."

"BEAUFORD, *5th December* 1741."

As Bailie Stewart had failed to satisfy the claim within the period agreed upon, and an enforcement was again menaced, Lovat renewed his intercession with Cadboll, accompanied by the offer of his personal security. Lovat's second letter, no less than the former, is most creditable both to his skill and his generosity. Dated from "Beaufort Castle, 8th January 1742," the missive proceeds thus :—

"MY DEAR LAIRD OF CADBOL,—My friend Baillie John Stewart of Inverness tells me that his agent, William Fraser, Writter to the Signett, has by some unluckie accident faill'd to send him the decreet of maills and dutys consequentiall on the adjudication he is to assign to you in security of the debt he owes your brother, about which I wrote you formerly. This gives my friend great uneasiness, especially that his day of presentation is on Monday, the 11th curt. But I am sure it's not his fault that this affair is not transacted as you desired ere now, as you will see by the enclosed letter to him from his agent, William Fraser (which return), and therefor I send you this expressly to entreat that once more you continue the presentation for one moneth longer,

and send your orders to your agent at Inverness accordingly on the receipt of this. And if in that time he dos not transmit to you, or order the security you propose, and likeways pay the five pound sterling desired in cash, I will be bound for the debt in terms of my former letter to you on this subject; ffor I think it will be hard to distress an honest man who I am certain is willing to do all in his power for your security. Therefor I will expect your complyance, which will be an additional proof of the many obligations I owe you, ffor which I will have a gratefull resentment all my life.

"The Revolution in Russia, and the Revolution that is like to be in Swedeland, and the confusion we are in at home and abroad, do portend great troubles and changes in our island even this very year. I pray God may restore and preserve the liberties of Scotland, whatever alterations and events may happen in the other parts of the world. This should be the constant prayer of all honest men, and I am sure it shall always be mine.

"The Patriots have carried the two greatest questions that came yet before the House of Commons, which was the Chairman of the Committee of Elections, and the Westminster Election. I wish they may go on and prosper against the Administration, &c., for I have no reason to have a friendship for them, having used me like a scoundrell.

"When the good weather comes on in the spring I design to pay my respects to you and to my other good friends in East Ross, if God spare me in health. I have been much pain'd these two moneths past by severall small boills that I had in my legs above my ankles. But I bless God they are all now heall, and I have not been better in health of body than since I came last north, these ten years by gone.

"I beg leave to make you the compliments of the season, and to wish you many a happy new year in health and prosperity; and I am, with a singular attachment and respect, my dear Laird of Cadbol, your most affectionate cousin, and most obedient and most obliged humble servant, "LOVAT."

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